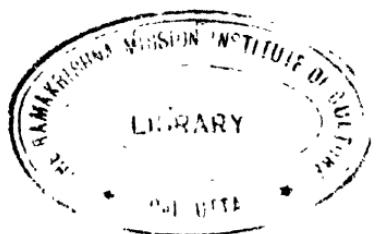


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VOLUME CXXIV.

January 1907.

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THE
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Art. I.—THE ORIENTAL MIND.

CURRENT dissertation on the portentous course of affairs unfolding itself in the Far East and its bearing on the future of International relationships brings into prominence a widely held assumption respecting Oriental attributes in general. This is the existence of an eternal, impassable gulf between the minds and temperaments of Occident and Orient ; of a peculiar constitution uniting Oriental races in common anti-pathetic attitude towards Europeans, which the rise of Japan into a great Power must only tend to strengthen. A pertinent generalisation, however, touching this assumption, recently expressed by an able Indian Writer gives the keynote to what is intended to be developed in the following analysis regarding its fundamental soundness. He remarks* : “*A priori* theories about Oriental predilections and aptitudes may appear smart or profound on paper, but only experiment can test their accuracy in practical administration. The statesman who has no other compass to guide the ship of state than clever-looking theories about Oriental nature incurs the risk of running his ship against unsuspected rocks. This truth requires to be emphasised, partly because the events of the past year have reminded us of it, and

* Editorial Note in *East and West*, Bombay, January, 1905.

partly because the fashion of assuming the truth of certain propositions about Orientals and their likes and dislikes, as if they were like axioms in the logical demonstrations of the Greek geometrician, is becoming increasingly popular, so much so that even an administrative accident like the combination of magisterial, police and revenue duties in the same individual is supposed to be peculiarly suited to Oriental conditions. The Oriental is assumed to be a bundle of mysteries. Nature abhors mysteries : their insolubility is only a synonym for our ignorance. The theologian has learnt this after bitter experience and the statesman who loves mystification may find himself compelled to learn that there are laws of human nature which do not vary with the points of the compass, and that the circumstances, if any, which may seem to modify them, for the time being, have to be studied with as much care in India as elsewhere, as they change from time to time and have no fixity conferred upon them by accidents of history or peculiarities of race." If none the less any such broad determining features of Oriental nature and intellectuation exist, yielding the ground of their demarcation from accepted representative Western modes of thought, and their alleged inscrutability to Western comprehension ; these should surely be susceptible at least to a clear presentation on the side of their general law of affinity and positive characteristics. An adequate conclusion, therefore, on the question so far raised involves the examination of the availing evidence in this regard, within the limits imposed by such an inquiry as the present. And as one intellectual interest affects pre-eminently all others, namely, that presented by the problem of existence itself, the fundamental essence of Eastern thought and feeling should most readily be described in the attitude towards

this insistent concern manifested by Oriental religious and philosophic expression.

It is difficult indeed, to begin with, to define wherein the Orient properly consists. Asia, of course, is usually implied by the term, though Prof. Vambéry half-humorously contends that Buda Pesth marks the Occidental frontier. And remembering how the Hungarian nation is descended from the Asiatic Huns and Avars who fell upon Europe in the Medieval age, to be followed by Mongols and Turks, there is an element of truth in this assertion ; pertinently emphasising in the present connection the interaction between East and West which has proceeded from the dawn of history, and particularly exhibited in the culture-contacts flowering in what is usually distinguished as the classic age of Europe : a consideration itself largely discrediting the theoretical lacuna betwixt Occident and Orient. But accepting this Asiatic connotation, we are met at once with a great dissimilarity of racial type in its aggregated population, with, it may here be noted, a correlative variation of mental and social habitude. The peoples of Asia number approximately some 900,000,000 souls or more than one-half of mankind ; broadly classified into the Mongolian, Turki-Tatar, Malayan, Dravidian and Semitic peoples, with dispersed yet powerful representatives of the Aryan family, who thus connect with the European stock. Asiatic ethnology is still wrapped in much obscurity, the existing habitat of its leading peoples being apparently due to waves of migration, and conquest of less-known aboriginal tribes. Such is the case with the Chinese, the Japasese, the founders of the Brahmanic culture of India ; while ethnographic observation traces a connection between the Turkoman of Central Asia and the Teutonic races of Europe from a similarity

of national customs and antique usage; between the Durani-Afghan and the Semitic Ben-i-Israel; and identifies certain tribes of Kafiristan with the descendants of Pre-Alexandrian Greek colonists from the West, finding in their hymns and ballads the influence and evidences of Greek culture contiguous to Northern India: an influence not only in vigorous operation for centuries through the intercourse of the Eastern Græco-Roman Empire and the Kingdoms of Persia and Parthia, but subsequently exercised on the intellectual life of the expanding Islamic dominion in these quarters. While in the signal instance of Russia, which would seem to form the connecting link, geographically and ethnically, between East and West—and skilfully utilized by her in diplomatic relations with Oriental States—where large Asiatic elements exist side by side with her Slavonic population, the generally low state of culture of the Russian peasant permits him to easily intermarry with the indigenous tribes of the Ultra-Ural Districts. So that the vast additions to Russian territory in Asia made last century allow by this means of their practical Russian colonisation. And just as the salient facts of Oriental life make it impossible to exactly differentiate the true Oriental from the Occidental or "white man," so, on examination, is it the case with the psychological aspect herein.

Any attempt at appraising the character of Oriental mentality must of course necessarily involve considerations of the Philosophy of mind *per se*, and the views thereon that have obtained credence. It must suffice, however, for our present purpose, that the position assumed here is that of the soundness of the experiential or comparative school of psychology, which treats all human intellection as phases

of the whole involved process of causal human development or evolution. That from primitive rudeness, rigidity, and incuriousness of thought there arises with widening experiences, more differentiated social life and civilisation, and larger acquaintance with phenomena, a heightened curiousness regarding the nature of things—issuing at length in the notions of cults and philosophic systems, with their corresponding practical codes of social regulation or views of conduct. “Self-consciousness consists in the state at which a being asks the questions. What? Whence? Whither?” The answers to these questions—rising in an ascending plane of rationality—is the story of the expansion of human reason and reasoning on the objective problem of existence and its varying interpretation; as distinct from that more concrete manifestation in the provision of the material arts of life subserving physical preservation, from the simplest tools to the elaborate mechanical equipment of to-day. In the conscious treatment of these interests there is no valid ground for crediting the races broadly classed as Oriental with the possession of any faculty markedly different in kind from that pertaining to the Occidental races. Whilst on the other hand the newer illumination of comparative psychology and ethnography studying mankind in these regards universally from the rudest surviving savages through all the grades presented by human development and all the evidences of past achievement embodied in the creations of human thought—is revealing the otherwise obscure operations of human intelligence at varying stages of culture. Thus by adducing a number of ‘ethnographic parallels’—the occurrence, that is, of the same or similar customs, practices, beliefs, ceremonies, arts, and even games and symbols, in peoples of nearly the same culture

at widely separated regions of the globe—it is now being demonstrated that there is a general law of uniformity in the psychic and social development of mankind, due allowance being made for variation arising from climatic and other physical differences in the environment. It is these last elements, perhaps, that most need taking into account in estimating very peculiar idiosyncracies of local character.

Coming then directly to the main issue, in much of the current assumptions over Oriental life there is a conspicuous absence of any such comprehensive and sympathetic organon of judgment. As Max Müller well remarks in his Introduction to the Oxford translations of the sacred Books of the East: "We need not become Brahmins or Buddhists or Taosze, altogether, but we must for a time, if we wish to understand, and still more, if we are bold enough to undertake to translate their doctrines. . . . To the patient reader these same books will, in spite of many drawbacks, open a new view of the history of the human race, of that one race to which we all belong, with all the fibres of our flesh, with all the fears and hopes of our soul. We cannot separate ourselves from those who believed in these sacred books. There is no specific difference between ourselves and the Brahmins, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, or the Taosze. Our powers of perceiving, of reasoning, and of believing, may be more highly developed, but we cannot claim the possession of any unifying power or of any power of belief which they did not possess as well.

[Some Easterns even claim higher powers in certain directions here.]

We must draw in every religion a broad distinction between what is essential and what is not, between

the eternal and the temporary, between the divine and the human ; and that though the non-essential may fill many volumes, the essential can often be comprehended in a few words, but words on which ‘hang all the law and the prophets.’” In the reference to typical phases of Eastern thought contained in this pronouncement, we have a suggestive indication of what it is desired to expand a little further in the present argument—of the really wide differences obtaining over the objective problem of Existence in the higher spheres of Eastern speculation, correspondingly to those existent in the West. An important point bearing on this aspect may be introduced here, in the predisposition to quietism or inaction often credited to the East springing from a correlative mental obsession. Thus one of our foremost exponents of sociology—Mr. Lester F. Ward, is led to observe :* “ Suffice it to say that oriental civilisation seems to have consisted chiefly in what may be called spiritual culture, largely ignoring material culture. But as matter alone is dynamic, they have acquired very little social energy, or social efficiency. They have not called nature to their assistance, and consequently they are practically powerless when brought into competition with Western civilisation. They lack chiefly the mechanic arts, and have developed but little machinofacture, being confined in the main to manufacture in the literal sense.....The widest chasm that separates the east from the west is the lack of individuality in the former contrasted with the exuberant individualism of the latter. The spirit of resignation, the prevailing philosophy of quietism, the denial or complete subordination of the will to live that prevail under Buddhism, Brahmanism, Shintoism, and other

* *Pure Sociology*, 1903.

Oriental 'isms,' are fatal to that vigorous push which has wrought Western civilisation. Desire is the social force, and where there is no desire, no will, there is no force, no social energy." Now, despite the writer's wide erudition, this statement repeats the error of lumping under one head all Oriental 'isms' as associated with one particular mental attitude. That the attitude in question exists is true ; but it is but one amongst others diametrically opposed thereto, even in the case of that above mentioned—Shintoism—the national creed of Japan ; now scattering to the four winds by her performance all the complacent prepossessions such as the preceding, wherein Westerns gratify their sense of superiority. We may also note in passing the underrating here of the debt of Western Industrial expansion too, the legacy of achievement in the arts of life bequeathed by the primary civilisation of the nearer East of Egypt, Chaldea, and Phoenice—to the polity of Europe ; "machinofacture" being the quite recent outcome of said expansion.* Before considering in their salient features the leading ideas of Eastern speculative philosophy, and their relation to the denial of the will within the limits of our space, a few words are necessary respecting the notions pervading what may be distinguished therefrom as the mass mind of the East ; of those ignorant, and therefore superstitious classes, that constitute unfortunately, the majority of mankind.

As one of the most eminent English workers in the field of ethnographical research declares : "One of the great achievements of the century which is now nearing its end is to have run shafts down into

* A suggestive note on this point is appended to Dr. W. Cunningham's able treatise *Western Civilisation in its Economic Aspect*, 1900, treating of the line of development or independent origination herein.

this low mental stratum in many parts of the world, and thus to have discovered its substantial identity everywhere ; " and to have shown " the essential similarity with which under many superficial differences, the human mind has elaborated its first crude philosophy of life."* In this category is broadly included belief in the efficacy of magic, fetishism, human sacrifice and propitiation of the great powers of nature, spiritism or animism, ancestor-worship and the cult of the Dead. Out of the higher stage of this development seen in Polytheism the belief in supernatural powers exterior to phenomena where the lower belief supposes powers inhering in phenomena—there emerges the finer and more spiritual metaphysical concepts of the select few. All which is normally present in Oriental superstition ; and one or two leading instances suggest themselves by way of illustration in regard to magic, animism, and the worship of the dead. Speaking of that mental phase which, under its related terms of witchcraft and sorcery, is exhibited in every historic society, including Europe, and may be taken to include the belief in the power to produce effects by other than natural causes, Professor Douglas points out† how " The Chinese are firm believers in magic, and place full belief in those arts of the sorcerer which have a congenial home among the

* D. J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, 1900. In addition to the mass of evidence marshalled in this monumental work on forms of primitive ideation anterior to those exhibited in the elaborated historic religions—universally manifest, reference may be made to that further advanced among English works on the subject, Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Dr. Taylor's *Primitive Culture*, Grant Allen's *Evolution of the Idea of God*, and the well-informed traveller, Mr. W. Simpson's *Worship of Death*.

† In his authoritative work *Society in China*, 1901. Laws against the practice of conjuration, witchcraft and sorcery existed on the English Statute Book as late as James I.

inhabitants of Central Africa. The code, which was based on the laws existing during the Ming dynasty, was thoroughly revised by a committee of the highest functionaries of the realm, and received the imperial approval in 1647, after careful consideration. In it we find, therefore, the mind which was in these grandees, and that they deliberately adopted a section providing that all persons convicted of writing and editing books on sorcery and magic, or of employing spells and incantations, in order to influence the mind of the people, shall be beheaded."

The mass-mind of China is often treated in particular as a *terra incognita* to Occidentals. An expression then by Sir Alfred Lyall* who adds to the advantages of the scholar those of his personal Eastern administrative experience—is apposite in this connection *apropos* of Chinese animism. "If demon worship develops out of the fear of malignant ghosts, the following extract carries us a little further along the connecting line of superstitious usages. A memorial from the Governor of Formosa describes an outburst of pestilence in the island when the savage tribes endeavoured, according to their ordinary custom, to avert it by putting people to death." The victims were Chinese; their heads were exposed in front of the houses of the murderers; and these outrages became so frequent in parts of the island as to be suppressed only after a petty war. There we have one of the earliest forms of sacrifice and expiation representing the belief, which seems to be indigenous among all primitive societies, that some virulent plague, like the small-pox in India, is the literal embodiment of the wrath of an offended demon, who goes about like a wild

* From the wealth of ethnographic observation recorded in his *Asiatic Studies*, 1899.

beast seeking whom he may devour, and whose hunger must be satiated by victims. . . . From the expiatory assassinations of the Formosan savages and from the universal Chinese practice of leaving out food to appease a ghost's hunger, up to the annual offerings and libations made by the Chinese emperors, to the sacrificial feastings and commemorative sharing of food, one may venture to trace in long succession the genealogy and gradual refinements of a natural religious idea. That the plain unvarnished worship of ghosts, demons, and animals may be traced upward to the higher forms of anthropomorphic religion is a well-known and well-evidenced theory, *supported by the survival in the latest stages of some incongruous habit or function obviously belonging to the earlier conceptions.*"

The passage I have italicised gives a cue to the meaning of much of what otherwise appears confused and contradictory in the obscure working of primitive ideation, in this survival in a non-scientific atmosphere distinct from what we have breathed for a century past in Europe—of various incongruous planes of thought. The service that comparative Ethnographic psychology may be expected to render is just elucidating the premises of this lower world of thought, and thereby greatly furthering the solution of the difficulty repeatedly given expression to by Eastern administrators—"If we could only understand the people!" Sir A. Lyall, again, emphasises the universality of certain forms of belief as against the contention of Buckle—that the deification of mortals could not be expected in a tropical civilisation where the overwhelming aspects of nature filled man with a constant sense of his own incapacity, as contrasted with the quite opposite conditions, in both these respects, obtaining in Greece. "Buckle

had evidently never heard of the ancient and still flourishing Jaina community, whose external worship is entirely paid to divinised saints; and when we consider that the deification of men is universally characteristic of the cults of all the wild non-Aryan tribes in India, we see how completely Buckle's theory, that this deification implies a superior respect for human powers, breaks down under accurate observation. The bloodiest and most degrading superstition in all India—that of the Khonds, is saturated with the idea that men become Gods, and the worship of the dead which is embryonic polytheism, is an almost universal characteristic of the earliest superstitions in all countries."

If then the mental processes of the ignorant eastern masses are largely identical, allowing for environing circumstances, with those correspondingly placed the world over; the more developed attitude of Oriental thought exhibits, on the other hand, similar differences of view to those presented by Western intelligence. The notion that the denial or subordination of the Will is a distinctive Eastern attribute is a gratuitous assumption from one or two peculiar Eastern doctrines. True, a certain credence is lent to these notions of Oriental characteristics by specious claims of Orientals themselves. Thus, in a review article, an Indian writer declares of a particular phase of Indian sentiment—the efflorescence of Brahmanical philosophy: "So far as the Oriental is concerned . . . as a thinker, seer, prophet, he must realise that there is One only in the all of things, and that this One is the all-in-all of the universe. Whether spiritualised in the Upanishads, or reasoned out in the Darshanas, worked into the Mahabharata, or concentrated in the song of songs (Bhagavad Gita)

the oneness of the Spirit of all things, the vainness of the apparent world and worldly life, the supreme importance of perfect unity with the Eternal Essence must ever remain as the singularity of the Oriental's nature. This singularity mankind will have to learn and accept at his hands in the future as in the past. From what is said so far it will perhaps be readily perceived that the moral ideal of the East is the ideal of self-submersion." Now this passage puts explicitly the *esse* of that elaborated phase of Indian metaphysics broadly included under the Vedanta. Yet the Vedantic system is divided into separate schools of interpretation : one, the Advaita or Monistic, asserting the essential unity of God, Soul, and Matter, whilst others affirm the essential difference and separateness of God, Soul, and Matter. This distinction, one of the most pregnant in religious philosophy, re-appears in rival Eastern faiths, as also with philosophic disquisition in the West. And though desire for union with the Divine be truly the dominant note of certain Eastern manifestations—reflected under one peculiar form in the speculative poetry of Persian Súfiism—it is by no means a "singularity of the Oriental nature," nor universally characteristic thereof; but rather pertains to that universal aspiration known under its many modes as "Mysticism." For Mysticism is well said to be the eternal cry of the human soul for rest, the longing of a being to pass the limits of a fettered actuality towards the Infinite. By a remarkable uniformity of tenor, in all ages, in all countries, amongst developed humanity whether shown by the Brahman sage, the Greek philosopher, the Persian poet, or the Christian quietist "it is in essence an enunciation more or less clear, more or less eloquent, of the aspiration

of the soul to cease altogether from self and to be at one with God."

The One remains, the many change and pass ;
 Heaven's light for ever shines ; earth's shadows fly ;
 Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
 Stains the white radiance of Eternity.*

Regarded in its more specific aspects, Eastern intellectation broadly follows (though of course not literally) the ethnic division outlined above. Thus we get the semitic element represented on the one side by historic Judaism—with its Western outcome in Christianity—on the other by the expansive world of Islamism extending into Western and Central Asia : the Brahmanic tenets of India : the Buddhist system, communally embodied in Burma, Siam, Tibet and Mongolia, and pervading Eastern Asia : the national codes of the Mongolian States, of China and Japan. Each of these systems again is connected with a peculiar social ordering, involving differences so wide and antagonisms so deep as between their respective communities that they quite outweigh in significance whatever general ground of hostility can be really shown to obtain amongst Orientals towards Occidentals. Let us then in summing up this demonstration shortly glance at their leading differentiations.

Of the questionings that have impelled man's higher ratiocination, the Final Cause of things and the pervading existence of moral and physical evil are perhaps the most perplexing ; and the attitude towards these concerns roughly defines the several Oriental philosophies. Jewish thought at one of its stages (and we may recall here how much of Western opinion therein is after all either Semitic in origin or affected thereby)† simply treats evil

* Shelley.

† The principle of a Divine Revelation and its related issues is here passed over as beyond the limits of this study.

as the inscrutable will of God. All that happens, all that befalls human beings, is the decree of Jehovah, a belief explicitly put by Isaiah in the passage : "I form the light and create darkness ; I make peace and create evil ; I the Lord do all these things." Prosperity and length of days are the reward and fruit of piety : nowhere, indeed, does the 'will-to-live' find more glowing expression than by the prophets and singers of Israel. If Israel obey Jehovah, then "Jehovah will make thee plenteous for good in the fruit of thy belly, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground. . . . Children are a heritage from Jehovah ; the fruit of the womb are a reward from Him . . . Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them ; they shall speak with the enemies in the gate." Only, it is when the fact comes home that prosperity does not invariably befall the righteous, that we get those interrogations of the Divine order so poignantly set forth in the great dramatic poem of Job. And the conclusion reached is strikingly parallel to that attained by the Greek, Æschylus, in a similar connection, with whom the writer might have been contemporary.

For dark and shadowed o'er
The pathways of the counsels of God's heart,
And difficult to see.

And from high towering hopes God hurleth down
To utter doom the heir of mortal birth :
 Yet sets He in array
 No forces violent ;
All that God works is effortless and calm.
 Seated on loftiest throne,
Thence, though we know not how,
 He works His perfect will.

But the introduction of Satan—of an arch Evil Power, into the Book of Job and Jewish Theology—raises the connection of this concept with Persian

sources through the intercourse of the Captivity. Be this as it may, we find in the pre-Mohammedan religion of Persia, as expressed in the *Gathas* or sacred scriptures of Zoroastrianism, an important historic contribution of Aryan thought to Eastern doctrines, a quite opposite view to the one summarised above, where an evil power, Ahriman, is set over against a good power, Ormuzd. Zoroastrianism, though submerged under the tide of Semitic Islamism in the land of its origin, has exerted a wide influence beyond, appearing in Europe in the early age of the Church under the form of the Manichean heresy. Though only represented in Persia to-day by a few barely-tolerated adherents, and in India by the flourishing Parsee community, its teaching in regard to the problem of evil is thus noteworthy and the recent opportune exposition of a modern Parsee scholar states: * "There can be no doubt that the later Jewish conception of Satan affords a strong parallel to the Angra Mainyus (Ahriman) of the *Gathas*. The Satan of Zacharias, the accuser of man, and persecutor of the pious in particular, is a close parallel to Angra Mainyus, whose sole task is to fight against the followers of the faithful (of purity, goodness, and truth). The only difference between the two would appear to be that whereas Satan had been in the beginning one of the angels of God who, later on, was transformed into the opponent of God and the author of evil, and who was soon to be overthrown, the Angra Mainyus of the *Gathas* is coeval in time with Spenta Mainyas (Ormuzd), and the final defeat of the former is not so emphatically and immediately announced." This Parsee writer has a further suggestive note respecting the idea of matter itself as being evil, an idea

* The Philosophy of the "Gathas." *East and West*, July, 1904.

sometimes appropriated to Oriental origin and the Zoroastrian view thereon, which rather turns the tables on Western philosophy : "Matter is not treated as something lower than mind : both, on the other hand, are on a level, being equally the creation of the same good deity. The philosophical dualism between matter and mind, or body and soul, of which Cartesianism may be taken to be a typical instance, is here submerged and absorbed in the wider dualism between the good and the evil. Matter is not by itself evil, since God has been the author of it as of other good things. Hence we find that the contempt for the bodily life, or life on this earth, a contempt which is always present with those philosophers, like Plato and the neo-Platonists, who hold matter as something evil and opposed to mind, is entirely absent from the *Gathas*. Unlike Socrates in the *Phœdo*, Zarathushtra invokes a long life and sound health for himself and his followers, and a happiness which by imperceptible gradations, merges into the bliss of an ideal hereafter."

The advent of Islam in Persia and adjacent countries introduces, indeed, some of the most pronounced aspects of inter-Oriental antagonisms of creed and conduct. As emanating from the Prophet Mohammed, Islam* is a dogmatic Theism, vaguely conceived in terms of personality, apart from the creation itself and into which such a figure as Satan only enters with kindred Semitic notions in a nebulous, traditional form, reviving here in a sense the earlier Jewish Monotheism. Thus says the opening invocation of the Koran : " In the name of the merciful and compassionate God—Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds, the merciful, the compassionate, the ruler of the Day

* Literally, Peace ; or resignation to the Divine Will.

of Judgment! Thee we serve and Thee we ask for aid. Guide us in the right path, the path of those Thou art gracious to; not of those Thou art wroth with; nor of those who err." The age-long hostility of Islam and Catholic Christendom is matter of common knowledge. But even in Persia a host of heterodox sects have arisen within the fold of the faithful—Shi'ites, Súfis, Bábís, Philosophers—to vindicate the freedom of Aryan thought and to transform the religion forced on the nation by Arabs into something widely different from its original tenets—in the Koran set forth chiefly in vehement rhetoric—as these have aroused analysis and reflection on the part of thoughtful minds inheriting other religious traditions. Of these sects perhaps the most modern, that of Bábíism, is one best deserving notice from its theory of continuing Revelations, from on High, of which it claims to be the latest dispensation. A claim evoking bitter repudiation and proscription on the part of the Orthodox Mohammedan leaders and Government. Professor E. G. Browne, of Cambridge, remarks, in his illuminating account of Persian sectaries and thought,* on the hatred with which the Zoroastrians of Persia regard the Arabs. "The fact that the Babi movement was entirely Persian in origin no doubt inclines them to look favourably on it. One of them said as much to me; the Semitic peoples, he added, were comparable to ravening beasts of prey, and the Aryan races to the peaceful and productive animals. An unmodified Semitic religion, he maintained, could never be really acceptable to Aryans." While on the side of Muslim antipathies, Professor Vambéry has pointed out how, "about 50 years ago, at the time when I was still living

* *A year amongst the Persians, 1893.*

among Mahometans, not as a stranger, but quite as a member of their community, I was much surprised to notice the utter contempt and hatred manifested by the followers of the Prophet against the heathen nations, *viz.*, against those whom they called *bookless*, those who have not got one of the four books admitted by Mahomed as coming from God, *i.e.*, the Bible, the Thora, the Psalms, and the Koran. Whilst Christians and Jews are styled *Kafir*, unbelievers in Mahomed, and can be tolerated by paying taxes, the bookless nations, called *Medjusi*, magicians, or *Putperest*, idolators, have no claim upon tolerance or clemency on the part of the true believers, and must be converted by force. Owing to this circumstance strictly Mahometan Governments were always averse to, and have always refrained from, an intercourse with Buddhistic or Brahmanistic countries, and it was only in the 15th century that a Timuride prince despatched an embassy to Peking."

There is something peculiarly ironical for Brahmans and Buddhists to be classed as *bookless* and *heathen* by their fellow-Easterns among Muslims; a view which, *inter alia*, throws a side light on the degree of knowledge of each other existing heretofore between the several Asiatic communities. For the sources of the lofty metaphysics excogitated by the Hindu intelligence, the Pantheistic nature of which the passage cited earlier from the Indian writer is an intimation, are found in an ancient *litera scripta* or *shruti* regarded, too, as a form of revelation—expanded by commentators into an extensive religious and philosophic literature. While the other great system originating in India, that of Buddhism, now that the authoritative documents of the original Pali are becoming

known,* embaces a body of expositive teaching equal in extent to the English Bible. The mental differences, however, represented by these three systems are palpable enough. To the Theistic phase indicated above, Islam adds the belief in the resurrection of the body and the continuing after life of the personal ego, the Judgment Day and a Divine Retribution for the good or ill of earthly existence, approaching here in a measure to certain Christian tenets. Brahmanism, on the contrary, even in its highest metaphysical implications, is deeply permeated by the belief in Metempsychosis or Transmigration: and though Buddhism, in its purest connotation, rejects the supernatural tenets of other Indian systems, it shares equally in this doctrine of Reincarnation, apart from which much of its philosophic determination would seem to have little meaning. The tenet in question appears to be absent from Persian metaphysical conclusion. This notion, the re-birth of the human soul, the continuance of earthly experience in a fresh organic form, is a widely accepted ancient theory which Herodotus credits to the Egyptians.† It has lent itself to speculative thought as providing one explication of the mystery of human suffering, and the casualism of the human lot, by seeing in all this the law of Karma or retribution for actions committed in a previous state of existence. Thus it pertains to the philosophy of Evil generally considered; though why it should be accepted in some Eastern systems and rejected by others is yet another aspect of the complexities and variety presented by the Oriental mind when brought to the test of analysis.

* Largely through the labours of the Pali Text Society, London, under the direction of Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids.

† It is really connected in its inception with those Animistic beliefs touched upon in the foregoing.

To escape from this consequence of reincarnation is part of the Hindu theory of Salvation ; embracing, in its highest conception, the "ideal of self-submergence" of *jivan mukti* or Life-liberation—the Vedantin's pursuit, through a prolonged course of spiritual discipline and study of conscious reunion with the Highest self—the Supreme Indefinable Power, Para-Brahman or God. This purpose is the burden of much detailed exposition ; the synthesis of the meditations of many old *rishis* and sages embodied in authoritative Indian religious writings. Yet, beside this teaching, we get a materialistic doctrine, the Sankhya philosophy, with which the Buddhist system in its origins, appears intimately related.* While assuming these premisses of Karma and Transmigration, Buddhism, however, in its purest connotation, puts aside all supernatural solicitudes of the Vedanta order as in their nature futile ; and posits a theory of salvation, derived from the deliberate mortification of the desire, thirst, or will maintaining the cycle of life, which is treated as always issuing in sorrow and disappointment. Evil is thus regarded as inhering in the very nature of things ; and from the way in which Buddhist ideas have spread through Asia, it is to this source that the notion of the denial of the will as a peculiar Oriental attribute seems chiefly due, though ideas, somewhat less developed, perhaps, but partially corresponding, are found elsewhere in the West, whatever the original connection may or may not be. The process of self-culture by which this state of *nirvana* or the "going out" in the heart of all earthly desire, is reached, forms the subject-matter of Buddhist ethics, the noble path of the *Arahat* or saint.

* And various sub-sects, such as Sikhism, and Jainism, with particular tenets distinguishing them from the dominating views here noticed.

Though reigning for a period as the leading Indian faith, Buddhism has been driven by subsequent religious struggles from the land of its origin, struggles in themselves a sufficient comment on facile theories of Eastern immobility,* and has made its largest conquests in outer Asia, particularly its far eastern zone. Recently, some of its most cultivated adherents, encouraged by the interest taken by European scholars in the sources and scriptures of the original Buddhism, have sought to advance its claims to the attention of thoughtful people as a doctrine suited to the modern age when detached from corruptions that in the course of its expansion among diverse communities have obscured its true significance. In contrast to the sentiments previously cited from representative phases of Eastern thought, an authoritative statement of the Buddhist attitude to the Great Enigma, as understood by modern exponents occurs in an address presented by the Council of the International Buddhist Society † to the Congress of Free Thought, held at Rome in September 1904. After asserting their community of aim in the repudiation of supernaturalism, it speaks of this faith as "a Religion which denies in its Sacred Books in manner most categorical the existence of any immortal principle in man ; which denies the existence of any Supreme Being and has no use for prayer ; and in place of these conceptions teaches in manner most positive that it is only the outcome of the work done by a man on the universe—the total of

* Popular Hinduism, which has succeeded, is an amalgam of certain of these pantheistic doctrines with aboriginal polytheism and Brahmanistic ceremonial rites, wherein the chief deities are Vishnu, Krishna, and Siva with an innumerable minor pantheon.

† Lately established with its head-quarters at Rangoon in Burma for the advancement of the tenets of Buddhism, aided by the publication of a quarterly English organ.

his mental and other energies—which survives the physical death of any being ; while in place of the conception of a Supreme Being it substitutes only the eternal Reign of Law. Thus, centuries before Copernicus, Kepler and Newton this Religion has taught us of a universe swayed by Law, and by Law alone ; centuries before Spencer and Darwin, it has proclaimed the eternal evolution of all these worlds. More than this, its outlook on the world has been such that it has never imposed any bondage whatever on human thought, or defined the limits of the human mind ; but has consistently proclaimed that through knowledge alone can come for Humanity that liberation from suffering which it is our hope some day to win ; it is, to quote one of our ancient Scriptures, "Through not knowing and through not understanding that all the suffering of the world is due.

" Because of these things, these fundamental teachings of the eternity of Force (whether named material or mental) ; the universal Reign of Law ; the apotheosis of knowledge, and the wide tolerance which flows from such ideas ; because Buddhism has been throughout the ages the Religion of Free Thought, has never stained its annals with the record of one persecution or of one martyrdom in the name of that great Teacher Buddha, who taught wisdom and compassion as the highest glories of mankind, that we alone perhaps amongst the Religions of the World have claimed to be represented in this august conclave."

Wherein then, of the conflicting body of testimony thus passed under review, expressed as nearly as possible in the words of Orientals and their accredited teachings, is to be described the peculiar affinity of the Oriental mind, its distinguishing attribute or differentia-

tion from Occidental intelligence? Even of this last aspect cited—numbering, if in corrupt interpretations, the largest body of adherents alike in Asia, and of any one faith in the world, its eminent English exponent, Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, says : " It is at least interesting to remember that Gotama [the Buddha or Enlightened One] was the only man of our own race, the only Aryan who can rank as the founder of a great religion. Not only so, but the whole intellectual and religious development of which Buddhism is the final outcome was distinctively Aryan, and Buddhism is the one essentially Aryan faith." While frank overtures of the character above advanced largely dispose of those assumptions referred to at the outset, regarding an impassable gulf between the minds and temperaments of Occident and Orient to their irremediable antagonism ; and all the more so in respect to the Buddhist address to the Free Thought Congress on account of the somewhat rationalised form in which the older doctrines appear to be presented. And though that testimony is a mere adumbration of what avails, it at least affords an indication at the same time of the really protean range of Oriental genius. For this is the aspect of the Eastern question in reference to European relationships which most needs to be kept in view, the immense complexity of Oriental affairs internally regarded. There are large social distinctions in the general life of the peoples affected by these several mental polities which have necessarily been passed over here ; and there remains unnoticed yet one entire division of Asiatic society that can now only be referred to incidentally, namely, that embraced by the Chinese and Japanese Empires and their dependencies. It is on the developments opening up in these states and their contingent reaction

on Western interests in Asia, that European attention is at present chiefly concentrated ; and a voluminous body of matter has lately appeared, treating more or less authoritatively of their idiosyncrasies. Suffice it for the present purpose that these embody, on the intellectual side, a phase of culture quite removed from the mental attitudes already illustrated, that will need a special presentation to characterise ; although, on the other hand, Buddhist influences have left marked effects on national life and thought in the Mongolian world. In the earlier part of this survey reference was made to certain primitive survivals in the workings of Chinese ideation. But the most pronounced feature is the way in which Ancestry-worship and the Cult of the Dead has been wrought into the very constitution of Chinese society, wherein the family or familiar clan is the unit of the whole social ordering, sanctified and regulated in detail by an unique classic literature associated with the names of the national sages, Confucius and Mencius. The origins of Chinese civilisation and culture remain obscure. But owing perhaps to the isolation from the great stream of human movements, through which for centuries past the Chinese have pursued their own development, the Mongolian polities present a peculiar involved study in themselves ; as Chinese influences appear to have penetrated into the contiguous domains of Corea, Japan, and Indo-China, there to undergo special modifications. For while the familiar cult is a common link between these countries, their social life exhibits marked differences. But the Confucian teaching has had a wide vogue throughout ; and of that body of ethical prescription it might be said, that apart from the pervading spiritism underlying the ancestral cult, its attitude to those

supernatural "solicitudes which have absorbed so much of Oriental genius and energy—this might virtually be termed agnostic; summed up in the sage's words "to give oneself earnestly to the duties due to men, and while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom," and a Japanese publicist* has lately stated of his countrymen, that as a people they had not much aptitude for deep metaphysical thought. They were not the race to produce a Schopenhauer. Warlike by nature, they had from the beginning the soldier-like simplicity and easy sentiments of men of action. The fundamental principles of Confucianism they turned into working principles and maxims for immediate application. Until recently they had drawn on India and China for philosophic ideas; and now they were looking afresh to Europe and America.

The discussion of the points of differentiation between modern Western life and Oriental life in the mass to-day, is beyond the present purpose. But the first step to a clear comprehension thereof is the removal of erroneous prepossessions regarding the Orient itself.

H. CROSSFIELD.

* *The Japanese Spirit*, by Y. Okakura.

Art. II.—FROM PEKIN TO SIKHIM, THROUGH GOBI AND THIBET.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following articles, written by the Count de Lesdain, describing the adventurous journey concluded in November 1905, by his wife and himself, should be of considerable interest to our readers. All rights of republication and translation are strictly reserved.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ZAIDAM MONGOLS.

THIS Prince was the first chief of the great tribe of Zaidam Mongols that we had met, and I must say that the manner in which he treated us was enough to lead us to form a pleasant anticipation as to our future dealings with this tribe. He not only came himself to bring me presents, chiefly of food, but when he heard that my wife was with me he sent his consort and his daughters with gifts of welcome to her too. These ladies wore their hair streaming down the back, with imitation shells fixed to a piece of cloth which hung down behind.

The Prince made it his business to bring up and fatten camels which he sold at Latchou and Gnansitchou, through a Chinese merchant who resided with him. He also sold boots, flour, peas, sugar and tea at exorbitant prices to his own subjects. A pair of badly tanned boots costs five sheep, and a pound of sugar two. The Prince seemed to me to have a special gift for trade, and I am sure that he possessed great wealth for a Mongol. He

did not try to cheat us in our dealings with him, and he gave us a splendid camel in exchange for two of mine. These latter after twelve days' journey over the mountains were hardly able to move and could not carry any load.

He gave us an old lama as a guide. This man was to lead us by the best road, first to the gold mines of local celebrity and afterwards to the Prince of Zaidam our friend's suzerain.

On the following day under the guidance of the old lama we said good-bye to this hospitable Prince. We did a good day's march to the south-west. Gaiety was provided by the record of falls from a horse established during the day by our cook Hoa. He being a very bad rider, the caravan drivers had amused themselves by persuading him to get on a black pony which was very strong but full of vice.

Hoa had consequently hooked on to his saddle all the utensils that he generally carried about with him, a teapot, tin cups, a water bottle, and flour cakes, half baked, with which he now and again regaled himself. He had scarcely mounted when all this bric-a-brac began to clatter, the pony was startled by the noise and departed at full gallop towards the plain to northward, having previously deposited his unfortunate rider in a convenient hole. The Mongols brought the animal back late in the evening, all the utensils having disappeared, either lost or stolen. I thought it as well to confine Hoa's equestrian ambitions for the rest of the journey to the back of a stolid mule.

We marched in a south-westerly direction, across ravines caused by the torrents which came down from the great mountain chains. Nearly all were dry. All along we enjoyed a splendid view of the huge plain in

which Latchou lay, commanding it as we did from a great height. From our camp we could trace the course of the Arachagol, winding away like a gigantic yellow serpent till it was lost amid the northern plains. We were directing our march towards its banks. At sunset the view was really striking and impressive. Later, at nightfall, I made two unpleasant discoveries. First that our tent had been pitched on a bed of wild garlic, which gave off a most poisonous smell, and next, that all the men of my caravan were complaining of some trouble, one had bad eyes, inflammation of the eye-lids, I think, another had cut his foot, a third had pain in his stomach, while Hoa was very sorry for himself and was cursing his comrades, to whose machinations he attributed all his misfortunes. A small bird with an orange coloured tail came and sang near the camp in the evening, and by degrees peace prevailed and sleep overcame the caravan, including of course the watchman.

We reached the banks of the Arachagol or Tan-Ho on July 9th after a good day's march. The ground had gradually become more level as the ravines subsided, so that we moved at a quick pace. I had directed our course since the morning so that we might reach a place specially marked on the Royal Geographical Society's map, as being of some importance. It is called Gachun, and was in fact formerly the residence of a Mongol chief of the Zaidam tribe, but this half nomad has long since moved the seat of his small court to Tourainsien, not very far away, where purer water is to be had. Gachun is only represented to-day by some broken down walls put up originally as shelters for cattle at night.

There are still on the banks of the noisy muddy river the relics of a fortified town, which must have

been abandoned many years ago, to judge from the suggestion of walls and bastions which are the only trace of its former existence. This stronghold was called Tan tcheng, and is marked only on old Chinese maps.

We were surrounded by sheer desert. But for the sound of the noisy waters there would have been perfect silence. The Arachagol was pouring its yellow waters at a rate of ten miles an hour over a rocky bed whose level was so irregular that rapids formed continually. The river was not very deep, not exceeding an average of three and a half feet, while its greatest breadth when the rocks closed in upon it was not more than fifteen yards. But frail as this obstacle seemed it was yet too much for us to negotiate. The swiftness of the current, and above all the unevenness of the river bed, would have proved fatal to all our animals.^{1,086}

Accordingly, having spent a quiet night, we continued our march up the right bank of the river. It proved a hard day. We had to make our way, following our old Mongol guide, across dangerous defiles and steep passes, the mountains dropping sheer into the river bed. I wondered continually how the camels managed it at all, with their crushing loads on their backs, and their heavy clumsy feet often slipping on the stone heaps. We came down at last on the bank of the river once more, and as I did not want to go still further out of our proper course I decided to cross the stream at any risk, since the river at this point turned definitely to the south east. I tried to get ropes fixed from one bank to the other, and with this intention I ordered Hia, my most active and capable man, to go into the river and attempt to reach the opposite bank. As a measure of precaution I tied a long and supple rope to him under the arms and held

one end of it myself, so that if he 'happened to to be carried off his feet I could haul him quickly to the bank. It was just as well that I did this, for just as he reached the middle of the current, which was less swift as it widened out, he suddenly disappeared into a hole. We hastily dragged him towards us, and as the poor fellow, losing his head at his unexpected ducking, struggled and wriggled incessantly under water instead of assisting us I had grave doubts as to a successful rescue.

This adventure having demonstrated the impossibility of fording the river at this spot we continued our march up the bank, and it was late in the evening when at last we found a place where there were four calm reaches. Here we crossed, and encamped on the left bank, on a patch of good grass.

As our caravan was composing itself to slumber it was suddenly aroused by the barking of our little watch-dog Shishi, and we saw the dark and lofty shapes of some camels emerging from the gloom. Their drivers were as much astounded to find us encamped on the banks of the Tan-Ho as we were to see them arrive from the south. We were soon on friendly terms, and discovered that the caravan consisted of Latchou Chinamen, who were on their return from the gold mines a hundred *lis* to the south to which they had been carrying provisions.

I had not been aware of any gold mines further south, but was not surprised to hear of them, for the whole mountain chain that we were crossing, which reaches eventually to Letchouan, is perhaps the richest mineral centre in existence.

Having satisfied my curiosity about the starting point and nationality of these wayside acquaintances. I

went back to my tent, while my men, greatly reassured by the sight of their fellow-countrymen, pressed them to share a supper consisting of flour cooked over a bivouac fire with a tallow candle.

On the 11th and 12th of July we made a difficult journey over completely desert country along one of the small tributaries of the Arachagol.* We had to make our own road across the fragments of rock which occasionally so narrowed the valley as to compel us to tread in the icy water of the river or to cross it every five minutes. A march under such conditions was a sore trial both to man and beast. The animals varied very much in pace. The mules only took four hours to cover some nine miles, while the asses took eight and the camels eleven. The latter were heavily handicapped by their long legs and their feet, except when it was a matter of jumping from rock to rock, or coming down almost perpendicular slopes. The landscape meanwhile was picturesque enough. But we were so tired out in the evening that all the beauties of nature appealed to us in vain.

On reaching the spot at which our guide had assured us that there were gold mines we were at first disconcerted and disappointed. There were no buildings of any kind, and no traveller seemed at the time engaged in a search for the precious metal. However, having crossed the river for the last time, and settled the caravan, we set about finding the mines. They do in fact exist, in the form of circular holes, many of them not more than ten feet deep and three or four in diameter. These holes have been dug in the deposits left by the river Kakrousoun, whose volume was formerly

* The Mongols call this tributary the Kakrousoun, the Chinese name of it is the Tincheko.

much greater, and which in those days detached part of their treasures from the semi-circle of mountains which girdle its source. Some Chinese diggers come annually even now to wash out the alluvial deposits during the three or four months in which the country is habitable, greatly to the profit of the mandarins to whom they are bound faithfully to hand over the results of their labours. The shape of the nuggets proves that they come from large deposits at no great distance. Some are large enough to suggest that they must have come from veins of great richness. No doubt a well conducted working of the district would give excellent pecuniary returns. Unluckily such an exploitation is very difficult to accomplish, if not impossible, under present conditions. The climate would be the bold miner's first great enemy. Considering that a part of the river was frozen over on the 12th of July, it is not hard to calculate the severity of the cold in the winter. There is no pasturage in the neighbourhood, very occasionally some scanty grass appears in a grey-green patch. The wild yaks that visit this abandoned spot had long since eaten up the very little that had tried to grow there.

The Chinese mandarins would also unquestionably view with disfavour a foreign exploitation, and if it proved successful would squeeze it to the extinction of all profit. While examining the mines we came across three miners in a miserable hut hidden in a depression in the ground slightly sheltered from the icy wind. Our arrival at first affected them with an amazement almost amounting to terror, but a few kind words soon set them at their ease. Eventually they even showed us the gold they had found, with the very rudimentary instruments which they employ in washing out. They

use for this purpose the icy water of the river, and no man can bear for very long the chill of its low temperature. They had only been at the mines for six weeks and meant to return to Latcheou fu about the 15th of August. They had received one visit from a mule caravan which came to provision them and to carry away their harvest of gold. They seemed quite indifferent to their very lonely and debasing manner of life, and thought it altogether natural to supply their mandarins with gold nuggets in return for wages amounting to 8 taels per month.

We could not have stayed longer, for our beasts could not have obtained adequate nourishment anywhere, and it was most necessary to keep them in good condition.

I was therefore very reluctantly compelled to give orders to depart without having been able to make a thorough examination of the gold-bearing rocks.

On the morning of the 13th of July the lama, who was to have guided us till we reached the encampment of the Prince Zaidam, suddenly disappeared. He had gone off to look for his horse, but he was not to be found at the time fixed for starting, and I left without him, being confident that I could advance quickly and safely enough with the aid of my sextant. The ground soon became, if possible, still more hilly and steep and we tackled passes more than sixteen hundred feet higher than our camp that morning. Some sheets of unmelted snow and ice clung here and there to the bare sides of the mountains, and we were deprived of the magnificent view we should have enjoyed in bright sunlight by thick clouds which blocked the top of the pass. The summits on which we were moving commanded an enormous plain like a desert stretching out in the shape

of an oblong basin, in strange contrast to the mountainous country which surrounds and protects it.

Leaving on our left a pass which seemed to lead too definitely to the south-east we began to descend a very steep slope, which was rendered more difficult by the loose stones upon it which were dislodged by the feet of the mules. After a few adventures and harmless collapses we reached a more gentle slope, where a slender stream starting from the mountains flowed towards the plain. The vast plain which now opened before us, and whose extent we were able to judge of, thanks to a lifting of the clouds, seemed hopelessly sterile. I therefore thought it as well to fill from the pure water of the little spring the water skins which provided for us and our men.

The ground became more and more sterile and dry as we went down. We were proceeding between mounds of reddish earth scooped out by erosion into fantastic shapes, and the grass became very scanty. Little by little the mountains round us lowered their crests, and at the end of our stage we could see behind us the lofty clefts of the chains we had just crossed, while we stood now on the natural border of the great plain.

We pitched our camp on a hillock of sand devoid of grass or water. The little stream had long since disappeared under the sand. We had to hobble our animals, to prevent their straying after pasturage and water, and to serve out to them a large quantity of peas. Some of them moreover were already beginning to show traces of fatigue and their heavy loads had to be lightened.

At this camp we also made the acquaintance of the most impetuous and savage mosquitoes imaginable

Luckily they are not poisonous. Their existence requires some explanation, at so lofty an elevation, considering that the country is very dry and that the winter cold must surely kill all the larvae. Bretschneider's German map, the only valuable one of Central Tibet, asserted the existence of some marshes in this vast plain. I did in fact in the morning see some dark green spots floating in a vivid mirage at a great distance. I at once ordered the camp to be broken up and we moved as fast as possible towards these floating spots, hoping to find water. The way was easy, over a long slope of sand and small pebbles, with hardly perceptible undulations. The mosquitoes punished us cruelly, especially when we drew near to the marshes. The swarms hummed loudly, and rose in thick clouds around us. The marsh was partly overgrown with grass, and was caused by the stagnation of a small stream in its centre which flowed from the east. The noisome insects swarmed out of the grass and fastened on to the legs of our animals, which were soon black and bleeding. The poor beasts, distracted between their longing to benefit by the excellent pasture which lay spread before them and the acute pain caused them by the mosquitoes, made a gallant effort to snatch a meal, but were soon scattered in all directions unable to endure the bites of their voracious foes. We had therefore to leave our tent half pitched, and to pursue the mules, which were galloping on all sides, maddened with pain and forgetting all their fatigue in their efforts to dislodge their enemies by rolling on the ground and tearing to and fro.

We suffered a good deal ourselves, for the meshes of our mosquito net were large enough to admit a good many of the insects. Their ardour flagged for a while

about midnight only. We then managed to get a little sleep, and the animals contrived to finish their meal.

All the travellers who have passed through Loli Nar and the district twice traversed by Russian expeditions, in a slightly different direction to that taken by us, mention the great trouble they underwent from mosquitoes, and no such story is exaggerated in this respect.

On the bank of the marsh lay the remains of a Mongol. All his flesh had been eaten away, but the bones inside his clothes had kept some semblance of his original human shape. How had this poor fellow come to die amid such unkind surroundings? He was no doubt a diseased wretch, who had no beast on which to make his way back to his tent.

The next morning I decided on the unlucky experiment of crossing the marsh to gain time. At starting the stretch of sand seemed solid enough to bear the weight of the caravan. But we soon reached a spot at which the dry and seemingly safe surface suddenly cracked and half swallowed our animals with their loads. It was as much as we could do to extricate ourselves from this false step, and we lost several hours through trying to gain one. We contrived none the less to cross the river at midday, and on reaching good ground again covered twenty miles before nightfall. We halted by the side of a small trickle of water.

On this march we met kyangs, or wild asses, for the first time. They came about us in large troops to look at us and to frisk around. They would come up fearlessly within fifty yards of the caravan, and then suddenly bound away, kicking up their heels and biting one another. Sometimes they formed squares, or deployed in double lines, executing with elegant charm manœuvres and combined movements that might have

been prescribed. Some of the troops contained two or three hundred animals, others barely twenty. Several young ones were frolicking beside their mothers. At this season they had found enough grass for some months past, and were plump and muscular.

A somewhat absurd incident now occurred, which gave us superabundant proof of the perpetual fear of Mongol or Tibetan bandits which dominated our caravan drivers. As the night drew on the men who were watching the animals at pasture a little way from the tents saw in a mirage at some distance some galloping shapes, and with the aid of their imagination believed they could distinguish guns, lances, and banners. In a panic they flew back to the camp at racing speed, and rushed into our tent. "Tajen, Tajen," they said to me, "we are attacked. All is over with us!" One of them even began to recite the prayers for the dead. Unmoved at this edifying spectacle I told him to get up at once and fetch me my telescope. As soon as I had focussed it I soon saw that the supposed bandits consisted of a large troop of kyangs pursued by some Mongol hunters. On great occasions the Mongols are rather keen on the flesh of the kyang, and the unusual manner in which they were hunting the beasts instead of waiting patiently on the look-out for them showed that some unforeseen necessity had arisen, and I concluded that we should probably soon meet the Prince of Zaidam, who must at that season be making his customary tour among his people, collecting taxes, appointing officers, and administering justice.

In fact, next day, after traversing a hilly region which was evidently well peopled, to judge from the flocks of sheep, the camels, and the horses which were feeding on all sides, on the gray-green soil abundantly

watered by the little river, we were much astonished at coming in sight of a great variety of horsemen. Mandarins and Lamas mingled the bright blue and yellow colours of their trappings in the plain, galloping after straying horses, while a busy group was erecting, on the banks of a small tributary stream, the white cloth tents with dark blue stripes which marked the presence of some chief, who could be no other than the Prince of Zaidam.

If we were surprised they were, I think, still more so, on seeing a company of strangers suddenly appearing. But they showed no indiscreet haste, and gave us time to arrange our camp. From motives of prudence I chose a raised spot on the top of a conical mound from which we could command the position and easily resist any attack. The Tibetan Mongols are very different to the mild and peaceful inhabitants of the plains of Mongolia, and very much disposed to robbery and even murder.

After about an hour some Mandarins of the lowest rank made their appearance, and insolently demanded in the name of their Prince who we were, whither we were going, and how we had made our way into that district. I made answer that I was not accustomed to give replies to underbred persons, and that if their Prince wished to make our acquaintance he might come and see me. As they insisted and demanded our passports to take away and show to their master, I declared that I would on no account surrender them, and that if he was so anxious to read them I would show them to him when he came.

Thereupon the ambassadors retired, and towards evening we saw a small mounted troop leave the tents and ride towards us. I immediately ordered a red felt carpet to be placed on the ground in front of my tent and I invited this august visitor to take his seat upon

it. He was a man of unpleasing appearance, dirty, and untrustworthy. He was not dressed in silk, but wore over his garment a strip of leopard skin, the mark of his high position. His two sons were with him, one a grand Lama, and the other the heir apparent. I showed him my passports, which he could not read and handed to his Lama son, who read them aloud to the great edification of his father and all the suite. Finding nothing in these to object to they asked us many questions about our plans for the future, and as to where we might be going. The prince had only one piece of advice to give us, not to go further south. "When", he said "you have left the borders of Zaidam, where alone my power can protect you, I shudder to think of what will happen to you. The Naitchi Tibetans are cruel robbers, regular brigands. Don't go that way. What will the Tsong li Yamen at Pekin say if I let you continue your journey and meet with misfortune? I shall be held responsible and punished." This was the pith of the speech His Majesty deigned to favour me with, but when he saw that it produced no effect he simply laughed and shrugged his shoulders, as if he washed his hands of the matter. He then began a close examination of our weapons, and was very greatly astonished at the distance of their range. If I had listened to his entreaties I should have absolutely wasted fifty cartridges, or, not content with firing a shot himself, he wanted all the mandarins and soldiers of his escort to share this unique pleasure. He made me a generous offer of fifteen taels for a Mannlicher rifle, and was much offended at my refusal. At last, realising that he could get nothing out of me and that I wanted nothing from him, he decided to return to his tents, and went off at a canter. He had hardly left us when a tremendous

downpour broke out which lasted for twenty-four hours, and gave us plenty of food for reflection. The rainy season had begun. It lasts as a rule from the beginning of July to the beginning of October, and literally floods the Tibetan plateau. Where we were the inconvenience of it was less serious, since as the country is largely intersected with rivers and ravines the water easily flows off. One cannot keep a dry stitch on one, but a caravan can advance without much extra difficulty.

At the Prince's request we stayed for one whole day near his tents. I had hoped to get a guide from him, but he declined, and his only reason for pressing us to remain was that he might renew his temptations with regard to the sale of arms. However our stay was productive of one good result, for our guide, who had so disingenuously deserted us at the gold mines, reappeared. I easily persuaded him to accompany us as far as the edge of the Zaidam basin, but could not induce him to venture with us across the Salt desert. "I am too old" he explained, "for such expeditions, and since you found your way so well by observing the stars, you will easily cross it without a guide." On the 18th of July we resumed our march southward, making for some snow peaks which rose like a spiked gate at a height of 2,500 feet above us. As we approached them up a slight slope we saw about us the tracks of wild yaks, seemingly fresh, and, yielding to a love of sport, I let the caravan go on with precise orders as to its direction, and went in search of big game, taking with me Tschrung, the best shot among my men. We climbed for hours, up very steep summits, and scaling the range I described above, we reached the upper snows without sighting anything. I was quite done up on my return to camp by this back-breaking stalk at a height of over

14,500 feet ; and yet we were destined to rise more than 20,000 feet without feeling any evil effect from it, so great is the resisting power to be derived from habit. For three days we traversed a country without any striking features, consisting of small chains of mountains one after another, separating valleys which were often marshy and afforded in their depths good pasture, infested unfortunately by mosquitoes. The whole district was inhabited. Isolated tents here and there on the mountain sides, and collections of dwellings, wherever the comparative excellence of the verdure allowed of several families living together, proved this. The people were not engaging, and were very different from the Mongols in the Gobi, the latter being always ready to greet one. The inhabitants of these regions came out of their tents influenced solely by curiosity, and when we pitched our camp used to come and finger our sacks and boxes and try their weight with unparalleled effrontery. But for a vigilant watch many things would have disappeared. I had to get up two or three times every night to see that my watchmen were doing their duty, and though I often found them asleep, their own exceeding fear of the occupants of the neighbouring tents helped to keep them awake.

Although the rainy season had already set in we still had five days, neither hot nor cold, and as we had gone down 3,000 feet from the level of the Prince of Zaidam's encampment, our journey was easy, and rendered still more agreeable by the practical certainty of finding a good camping ground each evening.

From time to time we ran across caravans of Chinese merchants. These adventurous traders came from Sining-fu, to buy sheepskins at a low price, and to sell bad leather shoes, sugar, and dried raisins, at

ten times their value. These commodities are not sold under the most appetising conditions, either. They are coated with dust, and mixed with small pebbles to add to their weight, but once thoroughly cleaned they are excellent and last for ever. The last group of Chinese merchants that we met had with them a caravan of asses carrying more than a thousand sheepskins. These men were very young, and their manners were charming.

On the 21st of July after crossing some wide grassy plains, the home of myriads of mosquitoes, we encamped near a Mongol village of twenty-five tents. This was the largest encampment we had met with, due to the special excellence and abundance of the herbage round about. The flocks born and reared in this district pay little heed to the mosquitoes, and, as the Mongols themselves are hardly worried by bites that would madden a European, all is for the best in this retired corner of the world. Its name is Ikra Tsraidam, and it is the jewel of the principality.

It is one day's march only from this village to the Prince's palace. Having changed the south-easterly direction that we had been taking for two days to one more southerly, we crossed a ridge of bare hills running from south-east to north-west, and came out upon a great circular plain. This is enclosed round three-quarters of its circumference, has fat pasture land in the centre, and a blue lake glittering to the south. It is the Prince's special domain.

As soon as we reached the northern edge of the pasture we halted. The spot was a most suitable one for our camp. Water flowed close at hand, and we could see the royal tents not far away.

During the night, however, we met with an adventure which was not pleasant for tired people. Apparently the Prince takes in as paying guests horses and mules.

that are exhausted or wounded, at the charge of the Chinese merchants of Kansuh. These animals recruit themselves for months in the luxurious pastures, and are there in great numbers, herds of several hundreds wandering about. In the course of the night one of the herds made advances to our caravan animals, and, having doubtless pronounced in glowing terms an eulogium on liberty, induced them to join in a wild stampede. Luckily our pack beasts were tired out by their recent marches and could only play a very modified part in the stampede, owing to which good fortune we managed to get them back into camp after pursuing them for some hours.

Here also it was that we gave up for good and all paying the native in money. As towards evening we could not obtain a little milk or butter for less than one or two taels, a preposterous charge proportionately, and a "squeeze" that the most unscrupulous tradesmen in London or Paris could not rival, we decided to barter instead. So it came about that we got what we could not purchase for several shillings in exchange for two knitting needles. Intending travellers, please note.

After a calm, and as it seemed to us, very hot night, the thermometer standing at 18° Cent : minimum, we set out again at an early hour. First we crossed the great grassy plain, waving under the wind, and came to the banks of the lake. This was beautifully blue and perfectly clear. Besides the herds of animals that I have spoken of, camels were to be seen on all sides, plump with the good cheer they had been feasting on for months. Hia, with characteristic Chinese patience amused himself by counting them. According to him there were three thousand of them. Such wealth in cattle, added to his twenty tents and his two shops, makes the Prince of Zaidam the leading Mongol millionaire.

But an explorer does not attain all his desires on the shores of this exquisite blue lake. For although several little springs of drinkable water afford refreshment to man and beast on the northern side of the plain, it is not so to the south. Here the absolute lack of sweet water makes life impossible and camping difficult. It was only by digging a sort of well five feet deep that we could obtain some muddy water which we had to manage with. I was the more annoyed because our animals were about to undergo a severe test in crossing Zaidam, and I was anxious to give them abundant food and drink before entering upon it.

On the next day, after crossing the low but bare ridge known as the Tsrougin Ulan, which closes the basin of the lake to the south, we found ourselves confronted by the most desolate country conceivable. There are some views in nature that are more dreadful, there are some more terrifying, but none so disheartening. On the "sai" all down its infinitesimal slope, all traces of vegetation had entirely disappeared. There were not even those shrubs, half grass and half tree, which satisfy camels, nothing, absolutely nothing. In a shimmer of grey-blue, now looking like mirage, now like mere distance, the huge salt basin does not even suggest itself. It looks as if the slope you are treading must extend for ever. The desolation was as complete as in the most desert parts of Mongolia, but in addition there was the feeling that behind the fantastic glimmer of the mirage lurked hitherto untried perils.

We encamped by the side of a thin trickle of water that came from the Trsongin, but continued only for a few hundred feet in length.

LESDAIN.

(*To be continued.*)

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Art. III.—A SIDE-LIGHT ON RUSSIAN HISTORY.

BEFORE the 18th century was a decade old, Peter, surnamed The Great, had laid the foundations of one of the world's great capitals—had “flung his city,” in the words of the historian, “like a forlorn hope” on the newly conquered shores of the Baltic. That was Peter's way: Whatsoever he did he did it with all his might, working himself with his own strong hands, and directing in person with imperious energy the carrying out of his own ideas. “Following the advice God gave to Adam,” he wrote in 1696, “I earn my bread by the sweat of my brow,” and the early years of the 18th century saw him waging desperate warfare with the swamps and marshes of the Neva, and raising, literally by force, the city that was to become St. Petersburg.

Any one who visits the Russian capital to-day can examine for himself, among other things, the church that Peter built. It does not compare perhaps in wealth and material adornment with the blaze of magnificence presented by the more modern churches of the city—the cathedrals of St. Isaacs, of Our Lady of Kazan, and many more; but it stands nevertheless a striking monument to Peter's will. Moscow the Holy, the home of the traditions and recollections of the past, must bow her head before the infant capital and appointed centre of Russian regeneration, and so the Tsars of Holy Russia, who for upwards of three centuries had been laid to rest in the cathedral of St. Michael in the ancient capital, were henceforth to find their last resting place

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in Peter's city—in the silent vault beneath the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. There may be seen at the present day the tombs of all the Tsars, save one, (Peter II, who died of small-pox at the age of 17, was buried at Moscow), who have lived and reigned in St. Petersburg.

There is perhaps nothing suggestive of mystery in the long rows of square white marble tombs, each one representing a separate link in two centuries of Russian autocracy, that confront the stranger who is curious enough to visit them. Nevertheless over one at least of them hangs a deep shadow of uncertainty. In November 1825 died Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, at the town of Taganrog, whence his body was transferred in accordance with custom to St. Petersburg for burial. So at least it was recorded for the benefit of posterity. But it has also been recorded, though not officially, that, contrary to custom, people were not allowed to pass by and look upon the face of their late Emperor as he lay in state, and that it was openly declared at the time that, whatever officialdom might say, the body was not that of Alexander. Here then are the makings of a pretty mystery.

It is a far cry even in these days of railways from St. Petersburg to Tomsk in the heart of Siberia: it was infinitely further before Russia had thrust her ribbon of steel from one end of Asia to the other; yet it is in Tomsk that the key to the mystery is to be found. Any one whose business or pleasure may chance to carry him to this remote centre of Russian rule may study a chapter of Russian history which finds no place in the chronicles of recognised historians.

Tomsk, as all the world knows, is the university town and capital of all Siberia, the chief city, that is to say,

of a territory approaching five million square miles in area ; yet the convenience of those who would journey there has not even remotely been consulted. The main line has passed it by, and only as an afterthought seemingly has a branch line been constructed to convey one over the 60 miles of swamp and forest that lie between the main line and the capital. So it came about that at an unconscionably early hour one autumn morning I was roused from my broken slumbers and ejected from the comparative comfort of my berth in the Siberian express, to be deposited bag and baggage upon the cheerless platform of the wayside station of Taigâ. Four hours later I found myself at my destination.

The visitor to Tomsk is likely to be assailed by a variety of sensations : satisfaction at finding that there are hotels for him to live in and restaurants where decent meals are to be had—a satisfaction which will be all the more keenly felt if he has had the misfortune to experience the discomfort of the *numera*, too often the only form of hostelry in Russo-Asiatic towns ; disgust at the villainous ways that pass for streets ; astonishment at the size and magnificence of many of its buildings, at its air of 20th century progress and modernity, at its university and museums, its electric light and telephones, its theatres and its shops, and above all at the size and completeness of its splendid technological institute ; and, last but not least, absorbing interest at the chapter of secret history which it guards. It is with this latter subject that the present article is concerned.

On November 19th (December 1st) 1825 Alexander I, Tsar of Russia expired in the arms of the Empress Elizabeth. So say the historians : not so the men of Tomsk. There you will learn that what the historians

describe as "the premature and mysterious death of Alexander" was nothing more than that monarch's abdication, that for many years under the guise of a pious ascetic he lived a life of prayer and self-abnegation among his subjects in far Siberia, and finally died an old man in 1864 at the house of the merchant Khromoff and was buried by the monks of Tomsk in the grounds of the Alexis monastery. In proof of which I was taken to the sacred tomb over which a chapel was in process of erection. Of a greater interest even than the tomb is the little house—known to this day as "Alexander's house" in the vicinity of the residence of the deceased merchant Khromoff, where the ascetic spent the greater part of his later years. It is difficult to avoid being seized with something of the enthusiasm of the people as one stands in the small wooden room scarce 20 feet in length by 18 feet in breadth, furnished only, in the life-time of its occupant, with the brick stove common to the Siberian settler's home, wooden chair and pallet and the simple household utensils, necessary for everyday existence, but ablaze to-day with golden ikons—expressions of the people's worship and respect. Portraits of monarch and monk adorn the walls, placed side by side to show the strong resemblance—incontestable proof, you will be told, of their identity.

Here in brief is the mysterious chapter of Alexander's life as told by the men of Tomsk. The Tsar, they point out, while yet in the prime of life, was an embittered and a disappointed man. His every action towards the close of his reign was suggestive of a morbid distaste for the position he occupied. And here they can appeal, with no little effect, to the pages of recorded history. Describing his departure for Taganrog the historian Rambaud writes as follows:—"At the moment of his departure

he appears to have been shaken by gloomy presentiments, and insisted on a requiem mass being said at the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski. In broad daylight lighted tapers were left in his room.—At Taganrog Alexander received circumstantial accounts as to the conspiracy of the Society of the South and its schemes of regicide. Cruel recollections of 1801 may have mingled with this melancholy. He thought sadly of the terrible embarrassments which he would bequeath to his successor of his lost illusions : of his liberal sympathies of former days which, in Poland, as in Russia, had ended in a reaction ; of his broken purposes and changed life. In the Crimea he was heard to repeat, ‘They may say what they like of me, but I have lived and will die republican.’”

Such were the circumstances surrounding the disappearance of Tsar Alexander I from the throne of Russia : a fitting prelude surely to a highly dramatic sequel ! The crown and the sceptre were laid aside, the coarse garb and the staff of the mendicant were henceforth to take their place ; the privileges and pleasures, the pomp and circumstance attaching to the autocrat of all the Russias had proved but vanity, the yearning spirit would henceforth seek peace and consolation in a humbler walk in life.

The people of Tomsk, it must be admitted, confess to complete ignorance at the time of the exalted rank of the stranger who had mysteriously appeared among them. Fancy and conjecture at all times played briskly round his name, but it was not until after his death that such conjecture assumed the shape which it wears to-day or developed into definite belief. Feodor Kuzmitch—such was the stranger’s name—drifted into Siberia in company with a band of prisoners, having been “ moved on ” to

the land of exile by the frontier police on a charge of vagrancy. For long he lived a quiet and retired life in a village some distance from the capital and eventually at the invitation of the merchant Khromoff whose acquaintance he had made, took up his abode in the little shelter at Tomsk, known at the present day as "Alexander's House." Here beneath one of the portraits already spoken of, you may read his epitaph :—

"The bondservant of God, the old man Feodor Kuzmitch, who passed a hermit life in Tomsk, and died in 1864 in the cell of Khromoff."

On what rests his claim to identity with the abdicated monarch? The people of Tomsk will adduce evidence which, to them at least, admits of no dispute. He was a man of kingly bearing, with a manner that from the first commanded homage from the simple peasant folk: His likeness to the monarch is there for all to see—here your attention is drawn once more to the pictures which adorn the hut. He himself hid his origin and former life beneath an impenetrable curtain of mystery, and to the frequent questions of his patron Khromoff upon the subject his answer was always: "No; that cannot be revealed—never." But beyond all that is asserted that immediately prior to his death he handed over to his host papers proving to him beyond all doubt that in the humble anchorite he had been entertaining unawares no less a person than his abdicated emperor. These papers were carefully preserved and after his death were transferred at his own request to the archives at St. Petersburg.

And if further circumstantial evidence be demanded you may learn, as I did, how Alexander II, when heir to the throne, visited the lonely stranger while making a tour of inspection of his Siberian dominions, how for

long he remained closeted with him in the house of the priest of a small village near Krasnoyarsk, how the priest, unable longer to restrain his curiosity, screwed up his courage and peeped through the key hole, and how he was struck dumb with astonishment at there beholding the heir to the throne of all the Russias, humbly kneeling before the mysterious monk !

Such is the story of Alexander I as treasured by the folk of far Siberia. I have given it for what it is worth. You may smile indulgently as you read the tale ; but if ever you chance yourself to visit Tomsk and to stand in "Alexander's house" or visit the lonely hermit's grave, you will not fail to be touched by the spell which the belief of a devoted people has woven round the spot. My sojourn in Tomsk has left me many vivid memories, none more vivid or more lasting perhaps than that of a simple peasant devoutly crossing himself as he knelt in earnest prayer on the brink of a lonely grave.

Art. IV.—THE CHIEF TIMBER-TREES OF INDIA.

IN such a vast country as India, extending over about 40° of longitude and 20° of latitude north of the equatorial line, there is of course a great variety of climate, and consequently also of botanical regions, each characterised by its own peculiar flora. There are vast tracts, larger than some of the countries in Europe, which have an arid and in some years almost a rainless climate, as in Sind, Rajputana, and portions of Central India and the Punjab; while towards the extreme east the notorious Cherrapúngyi, situated in a bend of the mountains which catches the moisture-laden southern monsoon winds and cools them down, has the largest known rainfall in the whole world, an average of 640 inches, or $53\frac{1}{3}$ feet a year. And when to this enormous variation between the extremes of drought and of moisture are added not only equal, but also even greater variations and extremes of heat and cold, ranging from the eternal snow of the great Himalaya Mountains to a temperature often about 115° to 120° in the shade during the hottest time of the year, it can easily be understood that tropical, subtropical, and alpine India offers, as Sir Joseph Hooker remarks in the Introduction to his *Flora of British India*, perhaps the richest, and certainly the most varied, botanical area on the surface of the globe. And elsewhere he estimates that the Indian flora includes about 15,000 different species of plants.

As might of course be expected with such a general wealth of flora the typically forestal vegetation likewise shows great variations, and occurs in vast abundance in most parts of the country which are not thickly populated. There has as yet been no general botanical

survey of the trees, shrubs, and woody climbers which are to be found in the forests and jungles ; but, in the Introduction to the second edition of his *Manual of Indian Timbers*, Mr. Gamble estimated that there are about 4,749 known species actually indigenous to India, including 2,513 trees, 1,429 shrubs, and 807 woody climbers. It may, perhaps, give some idea of this enormous botanical wealth and variety, when it is stated that there are only 134 species of woody plants in the British Isles, so that the Indian forest flora is at least $35\frac{1}{4}$ times as rich and varied,—and probably much more so, because many of the wild and unadministered forest regions of Farther India have not yet been examined.

Among all this wealth of woody fibrous plants, about 1,450, including exotics, have been described in Gamble's *Manual* with regard to their general appearance and the character of their wood. But what may be termed the chief timber-trees of India consist of about thirteen kinds, a baker's dozen (teak, sal, deodar, sissoo, babul, juniper, kheir or cutch, blackwood, sandal-wood, red sanders, and the three ironwoods—pyingado, nahor, and anjan), while a fourteenth, the *mahwa* of Central India, though also yielding excellent timber, is of much greater value for its flowers, the sweet and fleshy corollas of which form an important article of food throughout the local forest tracts.

In point of actual monetary and mercantile value the Teak-tree (*Tectona grandis*) is *facile princeps* the most important of all the forest trees in India. Its moderately hard, golden-brown wood, which darkens considerably with age, is easily recognisable from the strongly-scented essential oil to which this timber owes its special suitability for shipbuilding—an oil which preserves steel and iron, in place of corroding them like

the tannic acid contained in oak. The finest development of the teak-tree is attained in the mixed deciduous forests of Burma, whence about one and a half million pounds' worth of this timber is annually exported. But it also occurs scattered throughout the dry forests in many parts of the Central Provinces and Madras, and on the Western Ghâts in Bombay. It was from these Madras and Bombay forests, situated conveniently near the coast for shipment to Bombay, that considerable supplies of this fine timber were first of all obtained for local shipbuilding, and then for export for the use of the English navy about a hundred years ago, when the existing stock of home-grown oak had become almost exhausted, and when the national outlook for shipbuilding timber, during the time of our continental war, had reached its very gloomiest stage. Its seems to thrive best in places with a mean annual temperature of between 70° and 80° with a definite alternation of wet and dry seasons of the year, and without extremes of heat and cold. It is not exacting as to soil or aspect, so long as the drainage is good. Teak is not a truly gregarious tree, but is usually to be found associated with many other deciduous trees growing above an underwood of bamboos. It seeds freely, and germinates fairly well in clear places ; but unless artificially protected, the seedlings which come up are for by far the most part either choked by young bamboos or weeds, or else are burned down year after year by jungle fires. Thus, in fire-swept areas where jungle fires run over the ground every year some time during the hot season lasting from the middle of March to the middle of May, young shoots are thrown up time after time for ten to twenty years, and sometimes more, until at length a stronger growth or some happy chance enables them to shoot upwards and assert

themselves in future. In the Burmese forests the association of teak with bamboos is taken advantage of to make sowings at the periodical flowering and dying off of the bamboo undergrowth, at intervals varying from 15 or 20 to over 50 years, according to the kind of bamboo, because it is only then that the seedlings can be expected to have any chance of getting their heads up high enough to escape being out-grown and suffocated by the young bamboo shoots thrown up in ever greater lengths year by year unless checked by shade overhead. Plantations are also largely formed to provide larger supplies in the future ; and, besides this, much assistance is given in the way of protecting large forest areas from jungle fires, and of killing inferior species of trees by "girdling" or ringing them into the heartwood in order to increase the proportion of teak. It has a strong upward growth and a marked tendency to clean itself spontaneously of side branches, even when not grown in close canopy ; and in plantations it runs up, straight as a plummet-line, to a height of about 75 to 80 feet in the course of 15 to 18 years. Working-plans have been introduced into all the chief forests in Burma to determine the number of mature trees that can be cut in each during the next 30 years, so that there may be no danger of overworking any tract ; and it has been found that, on the average, it takes a teak-tree from 150 to 180 years of age to attain the mature marketable size of 7 feet in girth, measured at 6 feet above the ground, the rate of growth being of course quicker in the fairly moist than in the very dry forests. The investigations made in order to arrive at these practical conclusions showed that, while the average rate of growth is about 12 annual rings per inch of radius (a rate often equalled and even exceeded in the case of our own oaks and

other hard-woods), the average age of a 3 feet tree is 68 years, and that after this it takes other 29 years to reach 4½ feet girth, 35 more to attain 6 feet, and other 27 to reach the fully mature girth of 7 feet. Under favourable circumstances teak attains very large dimensions. In the Kyaukmasin forest in Burma, 26 years ago, I measured several huge, but usually rather stunted, trees varying from 20 to over 24 feet in girth at 6 feet up; and gigantic logs have been floated out having the fine dimensions of 64 feet by 13¾ feet mean girth, and 82½ feet by 10 feet mean girth. When quite fresh, teak timber is hardly floatable, but after being "girdled" and allowed to season on the stool in the forest for two or three years it is easily raftable. Although some of the finest forests have of late years been overworked, the measures taken for the protection of this splendid timber are such as to secure not only the continuous maintenance, but also largely increased supplies of it in the future.

The SAL-TREE (*Shorea robusta*) occupies, like the teak, two of the distinct forest regions of India. It grows more or less gregariously in the form of a belt skirting the base of the Himalayan range, and clothing the vallays and lower hills to a height of 3,000 to 4,000 feet, while it also occurs similarly in Central India extending from the Central Provinces into Rewa, Orissa, Jeypur, and Vizagapatam. It is a very hard, heavy, coarse and cross-grained timber of great durability though it is a very difficult wood to season owing to its liability to warp and split. But as regards durability, strength and elasticity, well-seasoned sal is perhaps the finest of all the Indian timbers—except, perhaps, the pyingado or ironwood of Burma. It is chiefly used for railway sleepers, though also largely employed for

general constructive purposes, such as bridges, piles, beams, etc. As it is not floatable, difficulty is experienced in extracting it in large logs from the forest. It is usually found growing on shingle and sand, or on loam resting on gravel. As it produces seed abundantly, and as the seeds ripen just at the beginning of the annual rains and germinate readily, the large-leaved and shade-bearing seedlings soon manage to choke all other seedling growth and to assert themselves gregariously. The young seedling crop, however, usually disappears year after year, either in consequence of frosts by night or of sun-scorching by day, while jungle fires kill them wholesale unless the area be specially protected ; and it is not until, after some years, the roots have penetrated down to a permanently moist subsoil that the young plants are able to assert themselves against this annual dying down of the shoot. The finest growth of the sál is attained near the foot of the Nepál hills, where trees grow to between 100 and 150 feet high, with a clear stem of 60 to 80 feet and a girth of 20 to 25 feet. Climate and soil of course cause considerable variations in the rate of growth of this as of other trees ; but it has been found that it usually takes from 80 to 100 years to reach a girth of 6 feet, and consequently a rotation of about 100 to 120 years has been adopted in the forest working-plans. Protection against fire, and improvement-fellings to replace badly-grown stems by those growing under more favourable circumstances and to reduce the proportion of inferior species throughout the crop, are the chief measures taken by the Forest Department to preserve and increase this very valuable timber ; and no doubt the effect of these measures will be to largely increase the available supply for future generations.

The DEODAR, or "GOD'S TREE" (*Cedrus Libani* var. *Deodara*), the most important and valuable of the Northern Indian timbers, furnishes a light, moderately hard, strongly scented and oily wood of a pale yellowish-brown colour. It is chiefly to be found in the Western Himalayan regions, at an elevation of about 6,000 to 8,000 feet, whence it extends to the mountains of Afghanistan. Except in the case of sacred groves around temples, and in some parts of Kumaon, the Punjab, and Kashmir, it is rarely to be found growing gregariously and forming pure forest; because it usually occurs in family groups interspersed among its characteristic associates, the Himalayan spruce (*Picea Morinda*), the blue pine (*Pinus excelsa*), three kinds of Himalayan oaks, and sometimes the Himalayan silver fir (*Abies Pindrow*), cypress and yew, and the long-leaved pine (*P. longifolia*) at lower elevations. But, besides these more frequent kinds of trees, the deodar forests contain a rich variety in the Indian birch, poplar, horse-chestnut, elm, hazel, maple, cherry, holly, and rhododendron, together with an undergrowth of shrubs closely related to many kinds common in different parts of Europe. Two well-marked varieties of deodar grow in those forests, which are said to run true to seed. One of these has a dark green, and the other a silvery foliage; but the latter is comparatively infrequent, and is chiefly to be found at the foot of low-lying ravines. The deodar has naturally a spreading and very beautiful habit of growth, and unless this expansive tendency be checked, it soon runs into branches instead of forming the clean, straight bole desirable in a timber-tree. In the close canopy of the forests the deodar seeds rather sparsely, and the best seed-bearers are those occupying sunny spots on ridges,

whence the winged seeds are wafted for some distance by wind, when the cones break up and drop their scales during warm, dry weather in the months of October and November, about a year after the flowering. The male and female flowers are sometimes, though not usually, found on the same trees, but a really good seed-year only occurs once in four or five years. On these occasions, in suitable localities, the growth of young seedlings is abundant and rapid, unless they are choked by rank grass and weeds, or checked in growth by severe drought, cattle, or forest fires. They can bear a fair amount of shade, though it is best to assist their development by means of lopping branches and girdling trees of inferior kinds. In order to produce the best class of wood for railway sleepers, it has to be kept in fairly close growth, and careful thinnings can only be made when once it has completed its main growth in height. The rate of growth and the dimensions attainable vary greatly in different localities. In the corridor of the Imperial Forest School at Dehra Dun, there stands a magnificent cross-section of a Kumaon deodar, 23 feet in girth, and showing 665 annual rings. Numerous trees have been found between 30 and 36 feet in girth, but the largest known is one at Kuarsi, in the valley of the Ravi river, measuring 44 feet in girth at 2 feet and 36 feet at 6 feet up; while heights of 216 and even 240 feet have been recorded. Even in good localities, however, the tree is at its best for timber when it reaches about 12 feet in girth, while in less suitable situations its maturity is attained at about 9 to 10 feet. Under the forest working-plans the average girth of the mature trees may be taken as between 7 and 8 feet, attained at an age of 140 to 165 years, while the average number of narrow-gauge sleepers converted from each

such tree varies from 50 to 70. The chief means of maintaining and increasing the supplies of this very valuable timber-tree is to cut out a large number of the other trees, or to kill them by girdling if not marketable, and work up the soil ; and after a good seed-year has produced a rich crop of young seedlings, the whole of the area is gradually cleared and blank spaces filled up, so as to leave immature trees and the new crop—a procedure which of course requires to be varied according to the given circumstances. Being light, the timber floats well ; and most of the deodar logs brought out from Kashmir and the Punjab, and the sleepers worked out from the Tons and Jumna valleys in the United Provinces, are drifted or rafted down the streams.

The Sissoo or Shisham (the "Shittim" wood of the ancient Jews, *Dalbergia Sissoo*) grows gregariously in the river-beds of streams and on the sandy or stony banks of torrential rivers all along the sub-Himalayan tract and the valleys up to 3,000 feet from the Punjab to Assam, whereas elsewhere it sows itself only sparsely throughout the plains of Upper India. Its very hard, close-grained, brownish heartwood, streaked with dark longitudinal veins, does not show the annual rings at all distinctly ; but it is a decidedly ornamental wood, which seasons well without warping or splitting, takes a good polish, and is admirably adapted for carving as well as for all purposes where strength, toughness, and durability are demanded. In furniture and carving, indeed, it is one of the finest woods in India, being perhaps rivalled in this respect only by its very near relative the black-wood (*D. latifolia*). Though it reaches a height of about 60 feet or more, it does not run up in a clean, straight stem, but is often buttressed, gnarled-like and

twisted, so that it seldom can be got to yield good, straight logs. It is of rapid growth at first, but soon decreases to a slower rate. It does not usually grow to more than about 6 feet in girth, although occasional stems of 10 and 12 feet near the ground are not altogether uncommon. Even when growing gregariously the Sissoo trees bear an extremely light crown of foliage ; and being exceedingly light-demanding, it soon thins itself gradually during the pole stage of growth. The pure or almost pure patches of Sissoo forest to be found on the sandy river-bed lands of Upper India are formed from seed washed down in the pod while the streams are in flood. As the pods are indehiscent, they gradually rot away till the seed is enabled to germinate, and the young seedling utilises most of its energy at first in forming a long tap-root of about 6 feet in length, which fixes it in the soil and prevents its being washed away during the floods of the following year. As the sands become deposited here, this gradually raises the level of the ground and forces the water to deepen the channels alongside, so that the young crop gradually rises above the surrounding water-level, and occupies separate islands or terraces. On suitable soil Sissoo can easily be grown from seed, although it is a difficult tree to transplant owing to its long root-strands. It is a prolific seed-producer, and seeds itself easily, while its natural reproductive power is often increased by a free production of root-suckers. Under favourable circumstances it attains a girth of 30 inches in 12 years, and 54 inches in 30 years, representing respectively $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ annual rings per inch of radius ; but in the celebrated Changamanga plantation, formed by irrigation with canal-water near Lahore, many of the trees averaged 4 feet in girth at 12 years of age ; while in the natural forests in Oudh

an average girth of 36 inches and height of 50 feet is attainable in 16 years, or at the rate of 1 inch of radius in $2\frac{3}{4}$ years. As in the case of all the other more valuable timber-trees, much is being done to increase the supplies required for future use.

The Bombay Blackwood, perhaps better known in England as " Indian rosewood " (*Dalbergia latifolia*), is a valuable and extremely hard and close-grained furniture wood of a dark purple colour with black longitudinal streaks, deepening with age, in which the annual rings are quite indistinct. It is found throughout the whole of the Indian peninsula, but not in Burma; and it attains its finest growth along with teak and bamboos in the dry forests of the Western Ghâts, where it ascends to an elevation of about 3,500 feet. It is essentially a tropical tree, and attains its finest growth in the southern localities. Though not an uncommon tree, it is nowhere abundant. It can be easily raised from seed, besides freely sowing itself naturally, and it has a strong reproductive power in throwing out coppice-shoots. It is a tree of slow growth, though it ultimately reaches a height of 80 feet, with a girth of from 12 to 15 feet, the largest recorded specimen being 20 feet. It takes about 100 years to attain a girth of 6 feet. The black carved tables, chairs, sideboards, etc., made of this fine wood are not as fashionable now as they used to be, so that there is in some places less demand for the wood than formerly. One result of this has been that it has been used for sleepers; but, though well suited for this as to durability, it seems a pity that so fine a timber should be used for purposes for which less beautiful woods are equally well adapted. In these days of specialities in furniture, it should pay some large firm to develop the blackwood industry in Britain.

The Babúl (*Acacia arabica*), a tree of moderate size, with hard pinkish-white heartwood turning reddish-brown on exposure and mottled with dark streaks, is one of the most important trees in the arid regions of Western and Northern India. Its true home is among the sandy wastes of Sind, Rajputana, Guzerat, and the North Deccan, but it is also found self-sown and cultivated throughout all the drier regions of Central and Upper India, and much is done for its cultivation in Sind and the Punjab. Sometimes it grows gregariously in patches, sometimes merely scattered about in single trees or small knots. In these dry tracts, usually poor in timber, it is an exceedingly valuable tree, yielding not only fine timber, very durable when well seasoned, and much used for wheels, sugar and oil presses, rice pounders, agricultural implements, etc., and making excellent fuel, but also furnishing tanning and dyeing products from its bark and pods, while the branches and leaves are used as fodder, and the thorny boughs for fencing fields. The babúl tracts of the arid regions are therefore carefully reserved and worked systematically. Though babúl is a free seed-producer, reproduction is often difficult within the reserved areas, as insects destroy the seed. To obviate this difficulty goats are often grazed inside the reserves and allowed to feed on the pods, and when the seeds pass through undigested they have a better chance of germinating. Otherwise it has good reproductive power and coppices well, while it may also be grown from cuttings. Though not usually a large tree, it reaches a height of 50 to 60 feet, with a girth of 6 to 8 feet, the largest known tree being one at Pandharpur, in Bombay, 80 feet high and 14 feet in girth. In Sind it usually takes about 35 years to reach 4 feet in girth, and about 55 to attain the

mature girth of 6 feet, while its rate of growth is generally quicker in the Punjab. In some parts of Madras the babúl forests are worked as coppice-under-standards, with a rotation of 20 years, in order to furnish supplies of much-needed fuel and fencing-thorns.

The Indian Juniper, or Himalayan Pencil Cedar (*Juniperus macropoda*), is one of the most important timber-trees in Baluchistan, whence it extends westwards into Afghanistan and eastwards to Nepal, growing at elevations varying from 5,000 to 14,000 feet. Its light, moderately hard, and fragrant wood, red in colour and often with a purple tinge, though it has little strength, is used in these districts, where timber is at a premium, for all sorts of purposes, from building temples, and forming beams and wall-plates, to drinking-cups and walking-sticks, while it is also used as fuel and burnt as incense. The bark at the base of old trees is of immense thickness, and is pulled off in long strips and used for roofing huts. This juniper forms pure forests at Ziarat in Baluchistan and in the Pil and Zarghum ranges, while in the Hariáb district it forms fully half of the forest at 9,000 feet, and has *Pistacia*, a kind of ash, and the ebony prune as its chief associates. The finest tracts of juniper are those of the open forests of Ziarat, about 60 miles to the east of Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan, where they extend for over 200 square miles. The trees generally branch from the base, straight stems and clean boles being very rare. The lowest branches are often buried in leaf-mould and dead foliage, so that they have the appearance of younger growth rising up round a parent stem. The rate of growth is slow, though the trees occasionally rise to a height of 70 feet and attain a girth of 20 feet. Although it produces itself naturally from seed, it often happens that very few

of the seedlings survive, owing to fire. Throughout these juniper tracts the hill-sides still show remains of old stems killed through fires lit against them by shepherds at night, in order to scare wild beasts from the flocks,—a practice that is now, fortunately, almost extinct. Happily, too, most of such dead trees are surrounded by a younger generation of saplings, poles and young trees growing vigorously without much shelter. The principal agent in sowing the seed is a bird called the "Obisht-khwarak," or juniper-eater. Though slow, the reproduction of these forests is now ensured, and the fears once entertained as to maintaining the supply of wood for future use are now at an end. In its Himalayan *habitat* the juniper is usually found growing gregariously on rocky slopes, where it does not generally grow over about 50 feet in height, though its girth is often considerable, 6 to 7 feet being not uncommon. Exceptional girths of 20 feet and more are sometimes reached, the largest being $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet, at Lahoul.

The Khair, or Cutch-tree (*Acacia Catechu*), is a tree of exceptional value, not only on account of its very hard, heavy, and durable wood, varying from dark red-brown to light brick-red in colour, but also, and more particularly, from the brown-black astringent product, the "cutch" of commerce, obtained from boiling chips of the heartwood, and known as *kath* in Northern India and *sha* in Burma, the preservative dye used to produce the dark brown colour of sail-cloths, fishing-nets, etc. The wood is a splendid timber, which takes a fine polish and is extremely durable, defying both white ants and the teredo. The only reason of its not being very extensively used as timber is the unfortunate fact that it does not grow to large dimensions. The *cutch-tree* is

common in the lower deciduous forests of most parts of India and Burma, where the rainfall is moderate. In Burma its distribution extends very little above the tropic line, but in Upper India it spreads to the sub-Himalayan tracts west of the Indus, and there ascends the valleys to a height of about 3,000 feet. There are three distinct varieties of this tree, in which the calyx, petals, and rachis of the leaves are respectively hairy, downy, and smooth. The hairy variety is that common to the dry regions of Upper and Central India but rare in Burma ; the downy kind is that found chiefly in the much moister locality of Bengal, Sikkim, Assam, and Burma ; while the smooth variety is confined to the arid regions of the Deccan, Carnatic, Rajputana, Western India, and the dry zone of Upper Burma. In India the *khair* or light red variety is found, both sporadically and also more or less gregariously, interspersed among the other deciduous trees characteristic of the dry forests. When gregarious, it is usually found—like the *Sissoo*, though seldom growing along with it—on newly-raised banks in beds of streams issuing from the mountain ranges, down which the seed-pods are borne by the waters, and get lodged among the sand and boulders of the freshly-deposited banks and islands. Such river-bed *khair* forests seldom show any natural regeneration, as they are liable to be washed away by floods, consequently the trees can be freely felled whenever of marketable dimensions for *kath*-boiling. The new growths springing up spontaneously on fresh silt-deposits require no treatment except protection against grazing, as they soon thin themselves sufficiently, and need to be kept fairly dense in order to prevent erosion of the soil. In Burma the growth of the *sha* tree, yielding the dark-coloured wood, is more usually sporadic than gregarious,

though in some of the forests of the Prome and Thayetmyo districts, and in the southern part of Upper Burma, in the zone having an average rainfall of from about 40 or 45 to 55 or 60 inches a year, it forms a considerable proportion of the trees found in certain localities. In these districts cutch-boiling forms an important rural industry, and in years of scanty rainfall additional facilities are offered for this, in order to reduce the pressure upon the poorer agricultural population. So far as cutch-boiling is concerned, *sha* trees are marketable as soon as they are a foot in diameter, but felling is usually limited to trees of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in girth at 6 feet above the ground, in order to ensure proper regeneration and the maintenance of future supplies. To regulate the manufacture of cutch, many of the best tracts have been reserved, and are worked by area, like coppices in Britain, with a rotation of about 30 years. In such reserves the right of making the fall of timber in the precise locality permitted by the working-plan is sold by auction each year, and the blanks thus formed are sown with seed; but outside these reserves the neighbouring villagers are permitted to fell and boil, after taking out licenses for a specific number of trees. Seed-production is abundant, and natural regeneration is prolific while the tree coppices freely. But, in addition to relying on spontaneous growth, much is also done in the way of sowings to increase supplies in the drier forests where the growth of teak is less vigorous than that of cutch, as is particularly the case in the drier forests where the timber-trees are chiefly associated with small kinds of bamboos.

The fragrant, yellowish-brown Sandalwood (*Santalum album*) is mainly confined to the dry region of Southern India. Its finest growth and development are

attained in Mysore and Coorg, where the most oily and heavily-scented wood is found between 2,000 and 3,000 feet elevation. Its hard, heavy, oily, close-grained, and strongly-scented wood, so well known in the shape of carved boxes, frames, and similar small articles, is largely exported to Europe and Arabia, but most of it goes to China to be converted into coffins for rich people. It is not a tree of large dimensions, as one of the largest known only measures 66 inches at 5 feet above the ground. The whole of the annual sales of this, the most costly of all the Indian woods per cubic foot, amount to only a little over 2,000 tons, having an export value of about £40,000, of which about 1,850 tons are produced in Mysore, 100 in Coorg, and 75 in Madras. In Mysore sandalwood is a royal monopoly, and most of the wood, brought to market, is cut in hedgerows and scrub jungles outside the areas demarcated as reserved forests. The proportion of the valuable scented heartwood is only about one-half of the log, while the unscented sapwood has little or no value. Even the fragrant sawdust or powder, used for distilling the sandalwood oil employed for perfumery and medicinal purposes, sells at the wood depôts for from £27 to £33 a ton. The tree is chiefly propagated by means of birds, which eat the fruit and drop the seed from the branches where they perch. Here it germinates in the shade, usually coming up in wisps of a tree or two among bushes, through which it gradually pushes its way, though more quickly, of course, with artificial aid, in quest of the light necessary for its proper development as a tree surrounded with scrubby vegetation. Thus, if carefully protected against grazing and fire, it can be made to extend itself naturally on suitable land, its favourite situation being on a red and rather stony soil ; and this

method of cultivation, combined with judicious management of the existing forest areas, gives better promise of good future supplies of first-class wood than plantations are ever likely to yield, as the latter have proved unduly expensive and not really satisfactory in other respects. Hence, the most that is now done in this way is to dibble in seed in suitable places under the shade of other trees, and in prepared patches in clumps of bushes and scrub jungle. Planting in the open seems to fail invariably, as the seedlings require some little protection against the scorching power of the strong tropic sun. Its rate of growth varies considerably according to the given local conditions as to soil and climate, but old trees examined in Mysore have been found to give an average of a little over 9 annual rings per inch of radius. The system of working adopted in Mysore is to fell the trees at the age of 40 years, 8 inches being estimated as the average growth in girth per 10 years, and the minimum size of the mature tree being taken as 32 inches in girth at 4½ feet above the ground. In the sandalwood forests of Madras, selection-fellings are annually made over one-tenth of the area, all dead and dying trees being removed, as well as all mature trees above 32 inches in girth, and the roots of the same.

The Red Sanders (*Pterocarpus santalinus*) of Madras has the least extensive distribution of any of the important Indian trees, as it is confined to an area of about 6,000 square miles in and around the Cuddapah district, where the annual rainfall is only about 42 inches, and the shade-temperature varies from 70° to 120°. Its extremely hard and heavy wood, of an orange-red colour when freshly cut, but deepening to a claret-red or almost black, are highly prized as house-posts, often being richly carved in the houses of the rich, and for ploughs

and other agricultural implements. Twenty years ago old dry pieces and seasoned rootwood were largely exported to Europe (over 15,500 tons, valued at £37,000, having been shipped in 1882-83), where this "redwood" was largely used in dyeing, the red colouring principle being the *santalum*, soluble in ether and alcohol, but not in water. Dissolved in water it dyes silk a beautiful salmon-pink colour. Perhaps owing to want of suitable old-seasoned wood, but more probably owing to the discovery and manufacture of cheaper and gaudier artificial dyes, the export of Indian redwood (as of other natural dye stuffs) has fallen off very considerably, and is now of little value. But large quantities of the wood are used for carving and other ornamental purposes, as well as for furniture and carpentry, and the timber is in considerable local demand. It is a pretty tree, with a tall, straight stem, and a high-set compact round crown of dense foliage, though, curiously enough, its leaves are impatient of the shade of other trees. It seeds in February and March, and natural regeneration from seed is easy, although, as in the case of teak and sál, and many other of the best timber-trees of India, the new shoots are apt to die off year after year until the increasing roots are able to throw out a shoot strong enough to resist the withering effects of the fierce sun and the scorching winds of the hot season. It also reproduces itself well by means of coppice-shoots and root-suckers. It grows best on the northern and eastern slopes of low ridges and spurs, on the stony soil of which the isolated poles of red sanders rise here and there above tufts of scented lemon-grass. The natural forests in the home of this tree are now being carefully protected against fire and grazing, while plantations have also been formed to provide increased supplies for future

use. Planting is usually done with seedlings raised in small loosely-woven bamboo baskets, which are inserted into holes of suitable size dug in the ground, and are regularly watered during the dry season. Few observations have been recorded as to either its rate of growth or as to its attainable dimensions. Gamble mentions a plantation made in 1865, which showed in 1883, at 18 years of age, an average height of 40 feet and girth of nearly 18 inches, with an average annual increment of nearly 3 tons per acre ; but this is probably less rapid than its growth in the open natural forests.

Each of the Indian provinces, as indeed almost every tropical and sub-tropical country, has as its own peculiar "ironwood," some hard, heavy, and durable kind of timber. The chief of the Indian ironwoods are the PYINGADO (*Xylia dolabriformis*) of Burma, the NAHOR of Assam, or NAGESAR of Bengal (*Mesua ferrea*), and the ANJAN (*Hardwickia binata*) of Southern and Central India. The Burmese ironwood, PYINGADO, occurs abundantly in some parts along with teak, many other deciduous trees, and bamboos, in the dry forests of the lower hills, and is, next to teak, the most important of the timber-trees of that province. Under favourable conditions as to soil and environment, it grows to 90 or 100 feet in height and 9 to 12 feet in girth, but on poor soil and in uncongenial situation (as in Arakan) it remains dwarfish and stunted—a description applying also to it in Godavary and the western coast of Madras, where it is also indigenous. The reddish-brown to dark brown, close and cross-grained, very hard and heavy wood is exceedingly durable, and is much prized and largely exported for railway sleepers, Burmese wood being, in this respect, much finer than that grown in Southern India, owing to the greater amount of resin contained in

the former. Extracts made from the wood possess good tanning properties, and it is quite possible that the sawdust and waste wood in conversion might easily be turned into a profitable article of export. It produces seed abundantly, and seedlings spring up readily where the forests are protected from fire. The ANJAN of the dry forests of Southern and Central India, which also extends northwards into the southern portion of the United Provinces (and is found also in tropical Africa), is likewise a deciduous tree, but is to be found growing more or less gregariously in isolated belts and patches of various extent, and usually on sandstone. Its extremely hard and dark-red wood, streaked with black and often having a purple tinge, has, again like pyingado, its pores filled with resin, which tends to increase its weight and durability. It is extremely durable, does not warp, and is not liable to split, while it is perhaps the hardest and heaviest of all the Indian woods. It is in all respects well suited for sleepers, bridge-construction, house-building, and ornamental work, but it is too hard and too difficult to work to be much in favour among the natives. It seeds freely, regenerates itself easily, and coppices well; but the seedlings and the shoots thrown up by the roots are killed off year after year by hot winds and fires, until finally one is found strong enough to withstand these hindrances to normal development. The NAHOR or NAGESAR of Assam and Bengal, on the other hand, is an evergreen tree, with beautiful foliage and fragrant white flowers. Though its true home is in Eastern Bengal and Assam, it extends far southwards into Burma, where it is known as GANGAW, and venerated as a semi-sacred tree. As it has been foretold in the Buddhistic sacred writings that the sixth and next Buddh will make his appearance under the shadow of a

Gangaw-tree (as the fifth and last Gaudama attained the supreme knowledge of the Law while reclining under the sacred *Banyan*), it is to be found planted near monasteries all over the country, ready for the great event, should any of the monks happen to be the embryo Buddh. The dark-red and very hard and heavy wood is an exceedingly strong and durable kind of timber ; and it is only, as in the case of Anjan, its great weight, and its extreme hardness, and the difficulty of converting it with native tools, that accounts for its comparatively small use. It takes a fine polish and, having a beautiful dark grain, is suitable for high-class furniture and decorative purposes in Britain, much in the same way as the PADAUK (*Pterocarpus indicus*) of the Andaman Island—which, by the way, is also obtainable of finer colour, texture, and dimensions in some of the deciduous forests of Burma (Toungoo district).

Besides the valuable kinds above described, the MAHWA-TREE (*Bassia latifolia*), growing scattered throughout the deciduous forests of Central India, and extending thence south-westwards to Kanara, and northwards to Oudh and Kumaon, and also occurring in Upper Burma, is one of the most important trees in the districts to which it is indigenous. Its value depends less, however, on the excellence of its hard, smooth, durable, red wood than on the edible qualities of the sweet, fleshy leaves of the corolla of its flowers, which, appearing in the hot season during May and June, form an important article of food throughout the forest districts where this tree occurs. The corollas are eaten either raw or cooked ; they are used for making sugar ; and a coarse and highly-intoxicating spirit is distilled from them, the odour of which is so strong and so unpleasant.

as to be noticeable at a long distance from the still. The average yield of corollas from a mature tree is about 200lbs., which sell for about half-a-crown when collected. When eaten, they are mixed with other food, or with seeds and leaves of other plants, and they taste somewhat like pressed figs. The outer coating of the fruit is also edible, being either eaten raw or else cooked as a vegetable, and the inner coating is dried and ground into meal; while a yellowish-green, butter-like oil, which soon becomes rancid in that hot climate, is expressed from the kernel, and used by the hill-tribes or sold for soap-boiling. In this respect the mahwa resembles the shea tree (*Bassia Parkii*) of Western Africa, the "shea butter" obtained from which Mungo Park, the famous traveller, declared to be whiter, firmer, and richer in flavour than the best ordinary butter he had ever tasted, with the additional advantage of keeping fresh and sweet for a twelvemonth without any admixture of salt. On account of the edible value of its flowers and fruit, the mahwa-tree is worked with a view to these, rather than for its fine timber, and special provisions are accordingly made for the protection of the oldest and best trees growing in forests worked under a systematic plan. It seeds freely, and the fresh seed germinates well; but, being oily, its germinative power soon passes away. It is much cultivated either in avenues along road-sides, and in "topes" or clumps by itself or along with mango, and in such places it often sows itself spontaneously.

Nothing like the whole of the areas throughout which these chief timber-trees of India occur have been brought under the direct control of the Indian Forest Department, although the area at present administered by it amounts to close upon 120,000 square miles, over-

two-thirds of which, or about 81,000 square miles (amounting to about one-twelfth of the total area of 945,000 square miles of British territory), have been reserved and legally settled as permanent forest estates to be administered for the benefit of the people, and of their agriculture, and of the finances of the Indian empire. These great forest estates already yield a net annual income of about £500,000 a year, after payment of all charges directly or indirectly connected with the working, maintenance, protection, improvement, and increase of the marketable products they supply, and leaving out of consideration enormous quantities of timber, fuel, bamboos, grazing and grass, thatching material, etc., supplied free from payment to villagers resident in the vicinity of the reserved forests. This net revenue, moreover, is steadily expanding under the careful husbandry of the well-trained and hard-working corps of officers forming the Indian Forest Service.

J. NISBET.

Art. V.—MACAULAY IN LOWER BENGAL—III.

II.—As LEGISLATIVE MEMBER.

O F the two great legislative Acts which brought to Macaulay unlimited praise and unlimited blame, the one was for the liberation of the Indian Press and, the other was what was then familiarly called the Black Act. For passing the latter Act through the Legislature, the whole artillery of the Calcutta Press—from the great guns of the *Bengal Hurkaru* and the *Englishman* to the little swivel of the *Gyananveshan*, were directed against him with a degree of vehemence and perseverance unexampled in the history of the Indian Press. Every form of writing, prose and verse, wit and sarcasm, ribaldry and declamation, was employed to exhibit him in the most odious point of view. All sober men were greatly shocked at the abuse so indefatigably heaped upon a single individual. The foulness of the abuse was such that he could not allow the newspapers to lie in his sister's drawing-room. Cheat, swindler, charlatan and tyrant were milder epithets with which he was assailed, and a suggestion to lynch him made at the Public Meeting against the Black Act was received with rapturous applause. For three years, from 1836 to 1838, he was pursued by the Calcutta Press with unsparing and continuous acrimony, and even after his departure from Calcutta when he was beyond the sound of their praise or censure, he was not spared from their personal hostility.

But Macaulay bore this disgraceful vituperation with the most unruffled equanimity. "His cheery and robust common sense," says his biographer, "carried him safe

and sound through an ordeal which has broken down sterner natures than his and embittered as stainless lives." The following allusions to this ugly matter in his correspondence, brief and rare as they are, clearly show that the torrent of obloquy to which he was exposed for doing a noble act, interfered neither with his temper nor with his happiness. Writing to his friend, Thomas Flower Ellis, then editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, under date, Calcutta May 30, 1836, he says :—

" We have been for some months in the middle of what the people here think a political storm. To a person accustomed to the hurricanes of English faction this sort of tempest in a horsepond is merely ridiculous. We have put the English settlers up the country under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Company's Courts in civil actions in which they are concerned with natives. The English settlers are perfectly contented ; but lawyers of the Supreme Court have set up a yelp which they think terrible and which has infinitely diverted me. They have selected me as the object of their invectives, and I am generally the theme of five or six columns of prose and verse daily. I have not patience to read a tenth part of what they put forth. The last ode in my praise which I perused began,

" Soon we hope they will recall ye
Tom Macaulay, Tom Macaulay "

The last prose which I read was a parallel between me and Lord Strafford."

This clearly shows how he could remain unaffected when the Calcutta Press was attacking him with the most rancorous invectives, for remedying a great defect in section 107 of the Charter of 1813 at the special request of the Governor-General in Council and with the unanimous approval of the Indian Law Commissioners. It was for doing common justice to the people of India at large without any distinction of caste, creed, and colour, that the Act was first conceived by the

Legislature, and, as such, received Macaulay's advocacy. When it was on the Legislative anvil, it was asserted* that the Black Act originated in an accident. Mr. Watson, an indigo and silk factor in the districts of Rajshahe and Moorshidabad, having many advances to make to *pykarṣṭ* and other natives engaged in the produce of raw silk, wished to be able to sue these people for breaches of contract in the courts of the Munsiffs that were near the factories. In order to compass this end, he waited upon Mr. Macaulay, accompanied by a leading merchant and agent, and he informed them that there was no good reason why their desired end should not be obtained as it seemed to him very reasonable. I do not know whether the above incident is true or otherwise. All that I can say is that much importance was given to the above at the time when the agitation against the Black Act was surging up furiously against my subject. At this distance of time, it is very difficult to find out the real reasons which prompted Macaulay to advocate the change in the then existing law. Suffice it to say here that it originated with the Law Commissioners, most probably at the suggestion of Sir Charles Metcalfe, then acting as Governor-General of India. Long before the Act was first published† for public information, Macaulay as President of the Indian Law Commission thus writes in the Legislative Consultations under date December 17th 1835 :—

I would certainly give to the sudder ameens jurisdiction in civil causes in which Europeans and Natives might be concerned. The only objection which has occurred to me is

* The assertion appeared in the *Bengal Hurkaru* of February 28th, 1838.

† The native cultivators.

‡ In March 1836, the draft appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

this : at present an Englishman has an appeal to the Supreme Court, in every case in which a native would have an appeal to the Sudder. Natives have an appeal to the Sudder in causes originally tried before the Zillah Judge. All causes in which Europeans are concerned in the mofussil are now tried before the Zillah Judge. The Englishman, therefore, has a direct appeal to the Supreme Court. If the Government shall give to the sudder ameens jurisdiction over causes in which Englishmen are parties, our countrymen will be deprived of the right of appeal which they possess ; and possibly, some discontent might by this change be excited among them ; but I don't conceive that this discontent would be deep or extensive, particularly if the Government should, in the exercise of its undoubted power, appoint a few intelligent Englishmen to the place of sudder ameens in those districts which contain a considerable number of European inhabitants."

In the above, the reader clearly finds the true origin of the Black Act. All the other members of the Law Commission, Messrs. Cameron, Macleod, and Anderson, heartily supported the above finding of Macaulay for a change in the law. So the following short draft of the Black Act was published in the official gazette in March 1836 for general information :—

I. It is hereby enacted, that from the first day of June 1836, the 107th clause of an Act of Parliament, passed in the 53rd year of King George III and entitled, "An Act for continuing in the East India Company for a further term the possession of the British territories, together with certain exclusive privileges :—for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories and the better administration of justice within the same, and for regulating the trade to and from the places within the limits of the said Company's Charter" shall cease to have effect within the territories of the East India Company. II. And it is hereby enacted that from the said day and within the said Territories, no person whatever shall, by reason of place of birth or by reason of descent, be, in any civil proceeding whatever,

excepted from the jurisdiction of any of the Courts hereinafter mentioned, that is to say :—

The Courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut—of the Zillah and City Judges of the Principal Sudder Ameens, in the Territories subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George in Madras.

The Court of Sudder Adawlut—the Provincial Courts—the Courts of the Zillah Judges—of the Assistant Judges of the Registrars, and of the Native Judges—in the Territories subject to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

The Courts of the Sudder Adawlut—of the Zillah Judges—of the Native Judges—and of the Principal and Junior Native Commissioners in the Territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay.

This draft was received with satisfaction * by the mofussil people and received their support, as it was chiefly intended for their benefit. But the Calcutta people backed by the legal practitioners of the Supreme Court who thought their practice would go away if the appeals from Mofussil Courts were forbidden to come to the Supreme Court, and joined by the Indigo planters of Lower Bengal who acted *con amore* in this agitation, presented a remonstrance in the first instance against the measure. This memorial was considered by the Governor-General in Council before finally passing the Act, and Macaulay was asked to not only express his opinion on the memorial, but also to reply to it. The following minute on the proposed Act was submitted to the Governor-General in Council by Macaulay with his reply to the memorialists :—

Date—(no date).

The draft which is now under consideration is so important in itself, and derives so much intrinsic importance from the

* The Indigo planters of the Upper Provinces signified their approval of the proposed Act by not only petitioning the Government of India but also by writing to the President of the Committee formed for repealing the Black Act. Among the signatories we find Mr. J. O'B. Saunders, the first proprietor of the *Englishman*.

nature of the opposition which has been made to it that I think it my duty to record my opinion concerning it.

By the Charter Act of 1813, British subjects settled in the mofussil were, with some reservations, placed under the jurisdiction of the Company's civil courts, but it was provided that in every case in which a native would be entitled to appeal to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, a British defendant might appeal to the Supreme Court.

In cases in which natives are concerned, appeals lie to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, in suits originally instituted before a Zillah Judge, and under certain special circumstances, in suits originally instituted before the lower judicial functionaries.

Europeans are not now subject to the jurisdiction of the sudder ameens ; they can be sued in no mofussil Court lower than that of the Zilla Judge, consequently in every case in which a British subject is a defendant, he has an appeal to the Supreme Court.

The British in the mofussil, have scarcely ever had recourse to this appeal, and seem to set very little value on it. In 1826, indeed, some of them actually begged to be deprived of it, in a large class of cases. They petitioned to be made subject to the jurisdiction of the sudder ameens, and stated that unless this were done, they should, in petty cases, be left without any prospects of redress. In petitioning to be made subject to the jurisdiction of the sudder ameens, they were, in fact, as I have said, petitioning to be deprived to a considerable extent of their right of appeal to the Supreme Court. By Regulation IV of 1827, the sudder ameens were empowered to take cognizance of causes in which Europeans were concerned : this continued to be the law till 1831. A change then took place in the judicial system, and Europeans were again exempted from the jurisdiction of the lower mofussil courts ; whether this change was at the time proper, is a point on which I will not offer an opinion. It is certain that Regulation IV of 1827 was called for by the British in the mofussil, that its operation was never complained of by them, and that by some of them at least it is still regretted.

During the last cold season I was assured by a deputation* of indigo planters, that they and those whom they represented, were desirous to be made subject to the jurisdiction of the sudder ameens ; and when I mentioned to them the appeal to the Supreme Court, they declared that they did not value it in the least ; in fact, such appeals are extremely rare. The present Chief Justice† informs me, that he scarcely remembers one instance of such a proceeding.

It appeared to the Government likely that in consequence of the provisions of the late Charter Act, the number of British residents in the mofussil would increase. It, therefore, seemed expedient to determine, before any great influx of such residents should take place, what jurisdiction the Company's civil courts should possess over them.

The principle on which we proceeded was that the systems ought, as far as possible, to be uniform ; that no distinction ought to be made between one class of people and another except in cases where it could be clearly made out that such a distinction was necessary to the pure and efficient administration of justice.

One such distinction, and only one, we thought it necessary to make. The general character of the munsiffs is such, that we could not venture to intrust them with the decision of suits in which a European and a native might be opposed to each other. These functionaries are ill-paid. They do not appear to possess the public confidence. Their courts require a thorough reform, and till that reform is effected, it would be highly inexpedient to give them jurisdiction in a class of cases in which the strong will very generally be opposed to the weak.

We, therefore, determined not to permit Europeans to sue or to be sued before the munsiffs ; in other respects, we thought that we might safely put Europeans and natives on exactly the same footing in all civil proceedings. Nor did it appear to us that there was any reason for allowing a British-born subject to appeal to the Supreme Court, in a case in which a Hindoo, a Mussulman, an Armenian, a Jew, a Greek, a Portuguese, or an

* May be an allusion to Mr. Watson and others who were said to have waited upon Macaulay as referred to before.

† Sir Edward Ryan.

American would have no appeal, except to the Sudder Dewany Adawlut.

In the draft of a letter which accompanies this Minute, I have stated some of the reasons which lead me to think that, as a court of appeal from the mofussil judges, the Sudder Dewany Adawlut is preferable to the Supreme Court. But in my opinion, the chief reason for preferring the Sudder Dewany Adawlut is this, that it is the court which we have provided to administer justice in the last resort to the great body of the people ; if it is not fit for that purpose, it ought to be made so. If it is fit to administer justice to the body of the people, why should we exempt a mere handful of settlers from its jurisdiction ? There certainly is, I will not say the reality, but the semblance of partiality and tyranny in the distinction made by the Charter Act of 1813 ; that distinction seems to indicate a notion that the natives of India may well put up with something less than justice, or that Englishmen in India have a title to something more than justice. If we give our own countrymen an appeal to the King's courts, in cases in which all others are forced to be content with the Company's courts, we do in fact cry down the Company's courts ; we proclaim to the Indian people that there are two sorts of justice, a coarse one, which we think good enough for them, and another of superior quality, which we keep for ourselves. If we take pains to show that we distrust our highest courts, how can we expect that the natives of the country will place confidence in them ?

The draft of the Act was published, and was, as I fully expected, not unfavourably received by the British in the mofussil. Seven weeks have elapsed since the notification took place. Time has been allowed for petitions from the furthest corners of the territories subject to this presidency ; but I have heard of only one attempt in the mofussil to get up a remonstrance ; and the mofussil newspapers, which I have seen though generally disposed to cavil at all the acts of the Government, have spoken favourably of this measure.

In Calcutta the case has been somewhat different ; and this is a remarkable fact. The British inhabitants of Calcutta are

the only British-born subjects in Bengal who will not be affected by the proposed Act, and they are the only British subjects in Bengal who have expressed the smallest objection to it. The clamour, indeed, has proceeded from a very small portion of the society of Calcutta ; the objectors have not ventured to call a public meeting, and their memorial has obtained very few signatures ; but they have attempted to make up by noise and virulence for what has been wanting in strength. It may, at first sight, appear strange that a law which is not unwelcome to those who are to live under it, should excite such acrimonious feelings among people who are wholly exempted from its operation ; but the explanation is simple. Though nobody who resides at Calcutta will be sued in the mofussil courts, many people who reside at Calcutta have or wish to have, practice in the Supreme Court. These appeals, indeed, have hitherto yielded but a very scanty harvest of fees ; but hopes are entertained, and have indeed been publicly expressed, that as the number of British settlers in the mofussil increases, the number of appeals will increase also. Great exertions have accordingly been made, though with little success, to excite a feeling against this measure among the English inhabitants of Calcutta.

The doctrines which, during the last five or six weeks, have filled the newspapers of this city, are, that the Government has no power to touch the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court ; that an Englishman brings to India all the political rights which he possessed in London ; that he owes no obedience to the Company, or the Company's servants ; that Parliament alone can make laws to bind him ; that he is one of the conquerors of this country, and one of the electors who choose the House of Commons at home : and that it is therefore absurd to suppose that the Legislature can have meant to place him on the same footing with the natives. In the memorial before us these doctrines are maintained in more decorous language than has been used elsewhere ; but the spirit of an exclusive caste breathes in every paragraph of that document.

These circumstances appear to me to have given a new character to the question. I certainly think it desirable that

the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut should try these appeals from the mofussil ; but I am quite ready to admit that the Supreme Court, composed as it is now, would be a very good court of appeal, some people may doubt whether it was worth while to stir the question ; but the question has been stirred. My voice is decidedly for going boldly forward. The least flinching, the least wavering, at this crisis, would give a serious, perhaps, fatal, check to good legislation in India. It was always clear that this battle must sooner or later be fought : the necessity has come earlier than I expected ; but I do not think that we can ever bring matters to an issue under more favourable circumstances. We must remember that if we suffer the memorialists to carry their point, it will be universally believed that we admit the soundness of their argument. The real question before us is whether from fear of the outcry of a small and noisy section of the society of Calcutta, we will abdicate all those high functions with which Parliament has entrusted us, for the purpose of restraining the European settler, and of protecting the native population.

The political phraseology of the English in India, is the same with the political phraseology of our countrymen at home ; but it is never to be forgotten that the same words stand for very different things in London and at Calcutta. We hear much about public opinion; the love of liberty; the influence of the Press. But we must remember that public opinion means the opinion of 500 persons, who have no interest, feeling or taste in common with the 50 millions among whom they live ; that the love of liberty means the strong objection which the 500 feel to every objection which can prevent them from acting as they choose towards the 50 millions ; that the Press is altogether supported by the 500 and has no motive to plead the cause of the 50 millions.

We know that India cannot have a free Government ; but she may have the next best thing, a firm and impartial despotism. The worst state in which she can possibly be placed is that in which the memorialists would place her. They call on us to recognise them as a privileged order of free men in the midst of slaves. It was for the purpose of averting this great

evil that Parliament, at the same time at which it suffered Englishmen to settle in India, armed us with those large powers which, in my opinion, we ill deserved to possess, if we have not the spirit to use them now.

I think that the Act before us is in itself a good Act ; I think that by passing it we shall give a signal proof of our determination to do justice to all races and classes ; I think that if we withdraw we shall be universally believed either to have assented to the monstrous doctrines of the memorialists, or to have been scared by a very contemptible clamour ; and thinking thus, I vote for passing the Act without any amendment.

With this minute* I circulate a draft of a letter, in answer to the Calcutta memorial. I have done my best to preserve the gravity and dignity which become a government engaged in a controversy with individuals.

(Sd.) T. B. MACAULAY.

The day on which the Black Act was finally passed through the Legislature, inspite of the vehement opposition of the Calcutta lawyers, Macaulay wrote the following minute on the same Act :—

9th May 1836.

We are now, I trust, about to pass the Act, giving to the Company's courts jurisdiction, in civil cases, over British-born subjects in the mofussil. Everything which has taken place since I recorded my former Minute on this subject, has confirmed me in the opinion which I then expressed.

The Government of Madras, the Government of Bombay, the late and present Lieutenant-Governor of Western Provinces, the civil service as far as I can learn, almost to a man, are favourable to this measure. The class whose interests are most directly affected by it—I mean the British-born subjects in the mofussil,—appear to approve of it. It has been three months before the public. The English settlers in

* The Hon'ble Henry Shakespeare, another Member of the Supreme Council, said :—"I see no reason why the passing of the proposed Act should be stayed by anything urged in this memorial."—15th March 1836.

the remotest districts have had ample time to become acquainted with it, and to make up their minds as to its probable effect on their interests. They have the strongest motives to consider the question fairly and attentively; they have the best opportunities of forming a correct judgment; they know the manner in which justice is administered by the Company's courts. They know the value, and they know also the cost of a proceeding in the Supreme Court. They are, by no means, a class of people disposed to lie down quietly under what they consider as oppression; they are, on the contrary, inclined to raise a clamour whenever they think their interests neglected. They have all the national impatience of control; and they have also much pride of caste. No exertions have been spared to rouse their passions against this measure. They have been told that they are outlawed; that they are marked for destruction; that the Company regards them with the same feeling with which it formerly regarded those private adventurers who interfered with its monopoly; and this Act is the first of a series of measures, the object of which is to evade the liberal provisions of the late Charter and to make India so disagreeable a residence to the English that none will venture to settle there. They have been urged to meet, to remonstrate, to act in concert with the opponents of this law at the presidency. The effect of all this excitement has been, that a single district has sent a petition signed by perhaps 20 persons against the proposed Act. In none of those provinces in which the greatest quantity of European capital is invested, is there the smallest sign of discontent.

In the meantime, a small knot of people in Calcutta, a knot of people who are not to live under this law, who know nothing about the administration of justice in the mofussil, and who are interested in the question only as practitioners or officers in the Supreme Court, have kept up an incessant clamour against the Government, and have done their best to conceal the smallness of their numbers and the weakness of their cause by the violence of their invectives and the audacity of their assertions. They have produced no effect in the mofussil, and scarcely any at the presidency. Their supporters

appear to be dropping off. Their first memorial bore about a hundred names ; their second, I think, about 47. They have threatened to call a public meeting ; but they have found that it would be imprudent to persist in that design ; and nobody doubts that such a meeting would have been a ludicrous failure.

I mention these things lest the Honourable Court should imagine, from the virulence with which some of the Calcutta newspapers have attacked the Government on this occasion, that we have rashly provoked the hostility of the great body of our countrymen resident in India. Any person who should form his judgment from those newspapers, would believe that the whole empire was in a flame. The fact is, that the hostility to the proposed law is confined to those who live, or wish to live, by the abuses of the most expensive court that exists on the face of the earth. The proposed Act, indeed, will directly affect their gains but little. There are not two appeals from the mofussil courts to the Supreme Court in five years. But the persons to whom I refer see in this measure the beginning of a great and searching reform. They see that we are determined not to suffer the high powers bestowed on us by Parliament to lie idle. They have, therefore, attempted to stop us at the outset, and by interesting all classes of their countrymen in their quarrel, to prevent us from proceeding to the correction of those evils which I firmly believe have ruined more native families than a Pindaree invasion.

All the reasons which have led these persons to oppose this Act, ought to lead us to pass it instantly. It is a pledge of our determination to rescue our native subjects from a ruinous system of chicane ; to do justice without distinction of persons ; to defy interested clamour ; to exert fearlessly, as well as prudently, for the general good, the whole of that vast power with which the British Parliament has armed us. I think this Act in itself a useful and important measure; but its intrinsic merits are now the smallest part of the question. There is no want of argument for passing it ; but the strongest of those arguments is the manner in which it has been opposed.

(Sd.) T. B. MACAULAY.

Provoked by Macaulay's personal attacks, the Calcutta agitators at last convened a public meeting on 18th June 1836 for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against the Act passed (Act XI of 1836). The meeting took place at the Town Hall under the chairmanship of Mr. R. H. Cockerell, then Sheriff of Calcutta. There were several eminent speakers, among whom Mr. Longueville Loftus Clarke, M.A., F.R.S., was perhaps the foremost. The following is an extract from his speech, delivered at the meeting :—

"The inquisition interdicts the works of the philosopher, the continental tyrants, those of the patriot and the East India Company would take from the natives the dangerous example of seeing any class of their fellow citizens free (*Hear, hear*). But that I may not be accused of misrepresenting, I will read the words of Mr. Macaulay—the tool of the Court, the agent of their work—I will quote his words on the debate on the Indian Bill. Mark them well, Gentlemen,—'At present in India, liberty we cannot have, despotism we must have, but let us avoid that worst of all evils, a partial despotism.' Such was his language, and were it not taken from the mirror of Parliament, I should have doubted that any man dare have uttered such trash and absurdities in an assembly of intelligent men. If despotism be an evil, then the more unmixed it is, the greater must the despotism be, the more partial it is, the less must it be; but according to Mr. Macaulay, the greater the despotism, the less the evil; the more limited the despotism, the greater the evil (*laughter*). Was there no one in that House to suggest to this wise legislator, how striking is the similarity between a body politic and a body corporal and to ask him whether he would prefer to have a gangrene on some one spot of his own person or to be an entire mass of ulcerous sores; methinks, he would then have a lively sense of the greater and the lesser evil (*laughter*). But, gentlemen, Macaulay was determined to clear up every mistake; having told the House that the despotism must be universal and ought to be extended from the native to the Briton, he proceeded

to show what the quality of that despotism was, and he gave no dubious idea of its frightful extent when he announced that the Governor-General had the power of decimating the native population. Such was the language of Mr. Macaulay, and I thank him for apprizing us of his notions of the tyranny to which we are subject (*Hear, hear*). I will not stop now to discuss whether the Governor-General would decimate the population if the machinations of the Company and their agent succeeded in driving the English from India by making it intolerable for a free man to live in it, but this I do know, that while English hearts and hands are in this country, our native fellow-subjects are safe from decimation, and that we would soon tell the tyrant by whom such a mad attempt might be made:—‘There yawns the sack, and yonder rolls the sea’ (*Loud cheers*). Mr. Macaulay might treat this as an idle threat, but his knowledge of history and literature will supply him with many striking examples of what has occurred when resistance was provoked and that milder instances of despotism than the decimation of a people, have harbingered the wildest changes. Experience teaches us, that despotism is of all suicides the greatest, and invariably perpetrates its own destruction, for no man, however vast his authority, is capable of resisting an excited people. Individually they may be lighter than the grains of dust in the desert, but the wave of the sand storm is not more overwhelming than the concentrated powers of the multitude. The Court of Directors know this. Mr. Macaulay, their agent, knows this.”

When the Calcutta lawyers determined at the meeting assembled to memorialise the Home Authorities and Parliament to disallow the Black Act, it was deemed expedient by Lord Auckland, then Governor-General, and all his councillors* including Macaulay, to record their reasons in full for passing the Act and in the sequel, to offer such remarks on the memorial itself as were necessary to convince the Home Authorities of its

* Lord Auckland, the Hon'ble H. Shakespeare, A. Ross, Colonel W. Morison, C.B., all separately recorded their opinions on the Act, which I cannot reproduce here for want of space.

uselessness. At the invitation of Lord Auckland, Macaulay wrote his last Minute on the Black Act, which is perhaps the best and most illuminating of all his Indian minutes. The following is the full text of Macaulay's last minute on the Black Act :—

Dated the—————

The clamour which the practitioners of the Supreme Court succeeded for a time in raising against Act XI of 1836, never extended beyond the limits of Calcutta : even within those limits it has now completely subsided. The meeting at which the petition and memorial were voted, was attended by circumstances so ludicrous and disreputable, that those who had convoked it were ashamed of it. Though by dint of earnest solicitation, and of pressing circular letters from agency houses in Calcutta to persons up the country who had dealings with those houses, some signatures have been obtained from the mofussil, no subscriptions have come in from that quarter. The committee for conducting the opposition to the Act have, within the last few days, put forth an advertisement, acknowledging that the English settlers up the country have not chosen to contribute to the fund which has been raised for the purpose of sending an agent home. When it is considered that the English settlers up the country are the only class of people whose rights the Act can in the smallest degree affect, this circumstance is alone sufficient to prove that the petition is entitled to very little attention.

2. When the material allegations of the petition are examined, they will be found to be, I do not hesitate to say, without one single exception, either unfounded or frivolous.

3. It is not the fact, as stated by the petitioners, that "all British born subjects of His Majesty have the right of being governed by the laws of England throughout His Majesty's Indian territories"; on the contrary, it is the fact, that by Act of Parliament, they have been made subject in many civil matters ever since 1813, to the jurisdiction of the mofussil courts, in which, as every man of India knows, English law is not administered.

4. It is not the fact, as stated without qualifications by the petitioners, "that the English law has prevailed in the town of Calcutta during 130 years"; on the contrary, it is the fact, that, with regard to 99-100ths of the population of Calcutta, a law of inheritance, a law of succession, and a law of marriage, widely differing from the English law, have always prevailed in that town. But if the allegation is true, it would, with reference to the present question, be altogether frivolous, inasmuch as Act XI., of 1836, makes no change whatever in the legal condition of any person residing in Calcutta.

5. It is not the fact that, before the passing of this Act, "British born subjects possessed a right of appeal in all cases to the Supreme Court." In the first place, no British born subject ever had any such right of appeal except in a case in which he was defendant; in the second place, no British born subject ever had such a right of appeal except in cases in which a native would have had a right of appeal to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. By the charter of 1813, it was always in the power, not, as now, only of the Governor-General in Council, but of the Government of Madras, and of the Government of Bombay, by enlarging or narrowing the right of the native to appeal to the Sudder Court, to enlarge or narrow also the right of the Englishman to appeal to the Supreme Court.

6. And here I may observe, that every argument which is urged from the beginning to the end of the petition in favour of the Supreme Court, and against the Company's courts, is exactly as applicable to cases in which Englishmen are plaintiffs as to cases in which Englishmen are defendants. If the Company's courts are so ignorant, so corrupt, so servile, that when not overawed by the Supreme Court, they will not do justice to an English defendant, we may be certain that, when not overawed by the Supreme Court, they will not do justice to an English plaintiff. Now is it even pretended that during the 23 years during which English plaintiffs have been left to the justice of the mofussil courts, without any appeal to the King's, their interests have in any respect suffered? I answer confidently, that this is not, and has never been pretended.

7. If so, I conceive that the question has been decided by experience, and that no honest Englishman need be afraid of being brought as a defendant before courts, tribunals which have sufficiently protected his interests when he came before them as a prosecutor.

8. But this is not all. A few years ago the British in the mofussil were, at their own petition, placed under the jurisdiction of the Company's lower courts. The effect of the law which placed them under that jurisdiction (Regulation IV of 1827 of the Bengal Code) was to deprive them, in a very large class of cases, of their appeal to the Supreme Court, even when they were defendants. This law was rescinded some years after, injudiciously as I think, not, however, in consequence of any representations from the British settlers, but I believe, from a fear that the British settlers might be able to obtain more than justice from native functionaries.

9. While the Regulation IV of 1827 was in operation, did a single Englishman petition against it? Did a single Englishman complain that he could not obtain justice? Did a single Englishman miss the appeal to the Supreme Court? I answer confidently, not one.

10. We have, then, ample experience to guide us. During 23 years English plaintiffs in the mofussil have had no appeal from the Company's courts to the Supreme Court. During several years a large proportion of English defendants had no appeal from the Company's courts to King's courts. That English litigants were treated with injustice, in consequence of this arrangement, is not even asserted; why then is it to be supposed that they will be treated with injustice now?

11. All that the petitioners say on the subject of the law of inheritance, marriage, succession, is founded on complete misapprehension of the whole scope and meaning of Regulation VII of 1832. That Regulation, indeed, is not expressed with so much neatness and precision as might be wished; but it is plain that it does not abrogate any portion of the law of England which, at the time when the Regulation passed, was law in the mofussil. It merely says that none of its provisions are to be understood as justifying the introduction

of English law except in cases in which that law is in equity and good conscience applicable.

12. The reason which induced the Government not to answer more explicitly the question as to the substantive law to which Englishmen in the mofussil are subject was simply this : that no member of the Government, nor, I believe, any other person, can give an explicit answer to that question. That our Act made no change in the substantive law, we were, and are, certain ; that it does not, in the smallest degree, tend to increase the evils arising from the ill-defined state of the substantive, and that it is a great improvement in the law of procedure, we fully believe. It would surely have been the height of absurdity in the Government to suffer itself to be drawn by persons, of whose captiousness it had ample proof, into a controversy on a legal question, abounding with difficulties, which, to my certain knowledge, have perplexed the most distinguished lawyers. Nothing is easier than to moot points touching the legal condition of Englishmen in the mofussil, which all the ingenuity of Westminster Hall would be puzzled to settle, points which no judge would think of deciding without hearing them fully argued, and which, I believe, he would at last decide by making a law for the occasion.

13. The question which we, as legislators, had to look at, was a practical question. It was not necessary for us to know, what nobody knows, the precise extent to which the substantive law of England is the law under which Englishmen in India are placed. There are wide differences of opinion on this matter, considered as a matter of speculation ; but these differences will be found to diminish greatly, if not to disappear altogether, in practice. Those who maintain that an English planter carries the substantive Civil law of England with him to Tirhoot or to Cawnpore, do not mean that he carries with him the whole common and statute law exactly as it exists in Middlesex. They would admit that the circumstances of this country render it necessary that the English law should be modified by a very large and not very well defined equity ; on the other hand, those who do not think that the English law, merely because it is English law, is applicable to an Englishman in the

mofussil, would yet admit, that in some cases in which Englishmen are concerned, the Company's judges, whose rule of decision is equity and good conscience, would be bound in equity and good conscience to decide according to the principles of English law. I see little difference between English law modified by a large equity, so as to suit India, and equity frequently recurring for guidance to the English law, when it has to deal with Englishmen. Two persons who would differ from each other widely as to the extent to which English law is, as such law in the mofussil, would agree in pronouncing that a mofussil judge ought to consider an Englishman as married who had been married in conformity with the law of England, and that the effects of a deceased English intestate, ought to be distributed according to the English Statute of Distributions.

14. There is no doubt that the unsettled state of the substantive law in the mofussil is an evil which requires correction. In a few years, I doubt not, it will be corrected. In the meantime, considered as a temporary substitute for a body of well-defined law, I really think that the rule of the Company's Regulations, which directs the courts to decide according to equity and good conscience, is as unexceptionable as any other as could be devised. It is not meant to be a permanent rule : it is a prop which must be suffered to stand till pillars can be set up and which will then be taken down. Such as it is, 100,000,000 of human beings live under it, and obtain by means of it a certain measure of justice, not such as I wish to give them, but still such as suffices to hold society together, and to make men tolerably secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry. Though I admit that the rule is most defective I do not see how we can at present have a better ; and of this I am sure, that of all the millions who live under this rule, the English in the mofussil have the least reason to complain. They are of the same race, they speak the same language, they profess the same religion, they have the same laws of inheritance, succession and marriage, with the zillah and sudder judges. If a zillah or sudder judge can be safely trusted with the interests of Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, Jews, Armenians, & it not absurd, to say that he cannot be safely trusted with

the interests of his own countrymen? Is it not absurd to say that the only national usages to which he will not allow their due importance are those of his own nation? That the only law of marriage which he will treat with contempt, is the law on which the legitimacy of his own children depends? That the only law of succession which he will disregard is that law which secures to his own nearest connexions the property which he may leave behind him?

15. The petitioners say that the provincial courts of first instance ought to be altogether prohibited from meddling with these questions of inheritance, marriage and succession. By the provincial court of first instance, I presume that they mean the courts of the principal Sudder Ameens and Sudder Ameens: if so, they are under a complete mistake as to the system of procedure in the mofussil. The zillah courts are strictly the courts of first instance. No cause is tried by a Sudder Ameen or a principal Sudder Ameen, except on a reference to him from the zillah judge, who is always an European functionary. It will be perceived that it is not an idle dispute about nomenclature, but that it is a point of great practical importance. These English questions go first before an English gentleman, who is at liberty to refer them to an inferior court, if he thinks that court competent enough to try them, or to reserve them to himself if he thinks that course preferable. Can we doubt that such a functionary will reserve to himself questions which are purely English, and which a Hindoo or Mahomedan functionary would not be likely to understand? Surely, when we trust a man with such vast power over the happiness of hundreds of thousands of foreigners as a zillah judge possesses, we may give him credit for a disposition not to treat his own countrymen with absurd injustice.

16. The absurdity of the outcry which has been raised respecting the law of inheritance, will be evident, when it is remembered that no Englishman has a legal right, at the present moment, to purchase land in perpetuity in the mofussil. The Charter Act gave to Englishman only a right to hold land for terms of years. The people who have no right to hold estates of inheritance at all, should be in alarm

because the law of inheritance is unsettled, seems scarcely reasonable. The few who are permitted by the special indulgence of Government to hold such estates as matter of favour, may surely submit to a law, which the Government thinks necessary for the general interest of the people.

17. The apprehensions expressed respecting the law of marriage and divorce have, if possible, less foundation; indeed I know of no court in the mofussil which has power to grant a divorce to any party of any race or religion.

18. Again, let it be remembered, that almost all questions touching inheritance, marriage, and succession, must be between two persons, both of British race. There may be exceptions, but they will be few. Now, in all cases where both the parties are British subjects, the Supreme Court has concurrent original jurisdiction with the Company's courts. In cases of divorce, where British subjects are concerned, the Supreme Court has exclusive jurisdiction.

19. The petitioners think it hard that questions which ought to be decided by the law of England should be decided by judges not bred to the study of that law; why is this harder than that questions of Hindoo law and Mahomedan law should every day be decided by judges of the Supreme Court, who were never bred to the study of the Hindoo or Mahomedan jurisprudence. The very act of Parliament which gave that appeal, the loss of which is represented as so terrible an evil, directed the judges of the Supreme Court to proceed on ~~every~~ such appeal according to the rules of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adalut. On those rules the judges of the Supreme Court, learned and able as they are, are necessarily quite ignorant. There have only been as yet two appeals under the Act of 1813; and on both occasions the judges of the Supreme Court were forced to send to the judges of the Sudder to ask what was to be done. I cannot conceive why the judges of the Sudder should have more difficulty in learning what the law of England is on a particular point, than the judges of the Supreme Court have had in learning what is the Hindoo law, what is the Mahomedan law or what is the practice of the Sudder.

20. But the petitioners think it a great evil that Englishmen should be subject to the jurisdiction of courts which carry on their proceedings in Persian or in the vernacular tongue. This is no place for discussing the advantages of employing the Persian language in legal proceedings ; on that point I shall not give an opinion. But I wish to know why it is a greater evil that a few hundreds of Englishmen should be under the jurisdiction of a court which conducts its proceedings in Persian, than that some hundreds of thousands of natives should be under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court which conducts its proceedings in English. It is hard, according to the petitioners, that Englishmen should go before courts, the pleaders of which do not understand the English laws or language. Why harder than that natives should be forced to go before the Supreme Court, on which there is not a single barrister who has studied Oriental law or who can speak any Oriental language.

21. But the Company's judges, say the petitioners, are dependent on the Government, and therefore no British subject ought to be under their jurisdiction. That the dependence of judges on a Government is in many respects an evil, will be universally admitted ; whether in India it be a necessary evil or not, is a question concerning which there will probably be different opinions. But on what ground is it that we are to make a distinction between the Englishman and native ? On what ground are we to say that an inferior kind of justice, such as can be procured from dependent judges, is good enough for a hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, but that we must have a purer sort for a handful of our countrymen ?

22. Since the foregoing pages were written, I have read with great pleasure, Mr. Shakespeare's* valuable Minute on this question. I have been particularly interested by his remark on the charges which the petitioners have brought against the native judicial officers. I am willing to believe that the view which he has taken of the character of that class of persons, is not too favourable ; but if all that the petitioners

* The Hon'ble Henry Davenport Shakespeare.

say on the subject were true, I should still think the Act of which they complain a salutary Act.

23. In the first place, I think that nothing can be more pernicious or absurd, than, because a certain body of functionaries are corrupt, to exempt from their jurisdiction a very small class, distinguished by intrepidity and by hatred of oppression and fraud, accustomed also to think little of the frown of power; certain to complain whenever they think themselves wronged, and certain to be heard whenever they complain. Such a class the English settlers in the mofussil will be. To exempt them from the jurisdiction of the local courts, and to have subject to that jurisdiction a vast population, timid, weak spirited, the ready prey of every extortioner, the ready slaves of every tyrant, would, I think, be in the highest degree reprehensible. What is the great difficulty which meets us whenever we meditate any extensive reform in India? It is this, that there is no helping men who will not help themselves. The phenomenon which strikes an observer lately arrived from England with the greatest surprise, and which, more than any other damps his hopes of being able to serve the people of this country, is their own apathy, their own passiveness under wrong. He comes from a land in which the spirit of the meanest rises up against the insolence or injustice of the richest and the most powerful; he finds himself in a land where the patience of the oppressed invites the oppressor to repeat his injuries. Therefore it is that I am not desirous to exempt the English settler from any evil under which his Hindoo neighbour suffers. I am sorry that there should be such evils, but, while they exist I wish that they should be felt, not only by the mute, the effeminate, the helpless, but by the noisy, the bold, and the powerful. If, therefore, I thought that the mofussil courts were as bad as the petitioners describe them to be, I should still say, "Put the English settler under them; then we shall know the whole; then we shall have the corrupt functionaries brought to shame and punishment for one who is detected now." Many abuses there undoubtedly are in the Company's courts; and, therefore, I would give the English settler a common interest with the native in the

exposing of these abuses. The more these courts require amendment the stronger are the reasons of giving those who have power to produce amendment motives for producing amendment. Many a grievance which would pass unredressed, because unknown, while only some thousands of natives feel it, will be forced on the notice of the Government as soon as one of our countrymen smarts from it.

Secondly, I conceive that, if the Company's courts are corrupt, there is an additional reason why appeals from those courts should be to the Sudder Dewanny Adalut rather than to the Supreme Court. It is not pretended that the Sudder Dewanny Adalut is corrupt: the judges of that court stand as high in repute for integrity, higher it is impossible to stand, as the judges of the Supreme Court. Integrity, then being supposed equal in these two courts, which of the two is the more likely to detect corruption in a subordinate functionary? Which of the two is the better able to punish corruption when detected? Surely it cannot be doubted that a Sudder Judge who has been in India from his youth, who has himself presided in a zillah court in the mofussil, who has passed years in the daily transaction of business with native law officers, who is familiar with all the shapes which dishonesty takes in a mofussil cutcherry, must be more likely to discover malpractices than an English barrister, who, in the middle of life, has come out to this country, and who has probably never stirred beyond the limits of a town which may be called a British colony. Again if corruption is detected by a judge of the Supreme Court, he has no power to punish it; the Company's law officers are not under his authority. If the Sudder Dewany Adalut should discover that a decision is corrupt, it should be their duty, not only to set it aside, but to visit the offending functionary with condign punishment.

24. The petitioners complain of the time at which this measure had been adopted, and I have reason to know that a few enlightened persons, who think this Act in principle good and who altogether disapprove of the manner in which it has been opposed, are yet inclined to consider it as premature. They conceive that the formation of a complete code of

substantive law ought to precede this change; instead of following it. I differ from them : I conceive that the admission of British-born subjects to settle in India, rendered it desirable to take this measure without delay. That there are arguments in favour of postponing this measure till the completion of the code of civil rights, I admit ; but I say that all those arguments go further, and are arguments against admitting British settlers till the code of civil rights is completed. Parliament has decided that British settlers shall be admitted, and that decision rendered the step which we have taken necessary. Nay, Parliament did not leave it to us to determine whether this or some similar step was or was not necessary : the Charter Act, after providing for the admission of British settlers, goes most positively to enjoin us to take measures immediately, and without waiting for the necessarily slow progress of the general code, for the protection of the natives against the wrongs which may be apprehended from such settlers. The intention of Parliament, I firmly believe was, that British-born settlers should be placed with as little delay as possible, under the jurisdiction of the Company's courts. My only doubt is, whether we have fully acted up to the intentions of the Legislature ; for it is my persuasion that Parliament intended British settlers in the mofussil to be made subject to the criminal as well as the civil jurisdiction of the Company's courts. Till the passing of Act XI of 1836, an Englishman at Agra or Benares who owed a small debt to a native, who had beaten a native, who had come with a body of bludgeon men and ploughed up a native's land, if sued by the injured party for damages, was able to drag that party before the Supreme Court, a court which, in one most important point, the character of the judges, stands as high as any court can stand, but which in every other respect, I believe, to be the worst in India, the most dilatory, and the most ruinously expensive. Judicial corruption is indeed a most frightful evil, yet it is not the worst of evils. A court may be corrupt, and yet it may do much good ; indeed there is scarcely any court so corrupt as not to do much more justice than injustice ; for there is no reason to believe that the party who is in the right will be less able to see the judge than the party who is in the

wrong, and, *cæteris paribus*, the worst judge will, from selfish motives, decide rightly rather than wrongly. Thus we see, that in many countries, and through many ages, society is held together, order is preserved, property is accumulated, though the courts constantly receive bribes, and occasionally pervert judgment.

25. A sullied stream is a blessing compared to a total drought ; and a court may be worse than corrupt : it may be inaccessible. The expenses of litigation in England are so heavy that people daily sit down quietly under wrongs and submit to losses rather than go to law ; and yet the English are the richest people in the world. The people of India are poor ; and the expense of litigation in the Supreme Court is five times as great as the expenses of litigation at Westminster. An undefended cause, which might be prosecuted successfully in the Court of King's Bench for about £8 sterling, cannot be prosecuted in the Supreme Court under £40 sterling. Where an English barrister receives a guinea ; a barrister here receives a gold mohur. Officers of the court are enabled to accumulate in a few years, out of the substance of ruined suitors, fortunes larger than the oldest and most distinguished servant of the Company can expect to carry home after thirty or forty years of eminent service. I speak of Bengal, where the system is now in full operation. At Madras the Supreme Court has, I believe, fulfilled its mission, it has done its work, it has beggared every rich native within its jurisdiction, and is inactive for want of somebody to ruin. This is not all : great as the evils of the Supreme Court really are, they are exaggerated by the apprehensions of the natives to a still more frightful magnitude. The terror with which it is regarded by them is notorious. Within the last few months, in consequence of an attempt made by some persons connected with that court to extend its jurisdiction over the suburbs of Calcutta, hundreds of respectable and wealthy natives petitioned the Government in language indicating the greatest dismay. To give to every English defendant in every civil cause a right to bring the native plaintiff before the Supreme Court, is to give to every dishonest Englishman an

immunity against all civil prosecution. It is true that such appeals are scarcely ever heard of. There have as yet been only two actually brought to a hearing. But it is the opinion of some of the most experienced servants of the Company, that the threat of appealing has often been employed, and employed with success, by dishonest debtors against honest claimants. And I am quite certain, from what I have myself seen of the dread with which natives regard the Supreme Court, and from what I myself know of the expenses of that court, that the threat would in a great proportion of cases be successful.

26. I conceive, therefore, that the Act is good in itself, and that the time for passing it has been well chosen. The strongest reason, however, as I formerly said, for passing it, was the nature of the opposition which it experienced. Approved by the Governments of Madras, Bombay, and Agra, approved by the body of the Civil Service, not disapproved by those English settlers to whom alone its provisions applied, it has been violently assailed by a portion of the English inhabitants of Calcutta. In this petition they have not taken quite so reprehensible a tone as in their memorials addressed to the Indian Government; but the same spirit of caste, the same love of oligarchical domination, disguising itself under the phraseology which in England we are accustomed to hear only from the most zealous supporters of popular rights, may be seen in both. While the excitement which has now completely subsided, was in its full force, the organs of the opposition repeated every day that the English were the conquerors, the lords of the country, the dominant race, the electors of the House of Commons, whose legislative power extends both over the Company at home and over the Governor-General in Council here. The constituents of British Legislature, they told us, were not to be bound by laws made by any inferior authority. The firmness with which the Government withheld the idle outcry of two or three hundred people about a matter with which they had nothing to do, was designated as insolent defiance of public opinion. We were enemies of freedom because we would not suffer a small white aristocracy to domineer over millions.

27. How utterly at variance these principles are with reason, with justice, with the honour of the British Government and with the dearest interests of the Indian people, it is unnecessary for me to point out either to my colleagues or to the Honourable Court. For myself, I can only say, that if the Government is to be conducted on such principles, I am utterly disqualified, by all my feelings and opinions, from bearing any part in it, and cannot too soon resign my place to some person better fitted to hold it.

28. The petitioners say that the East India Company has always been opposed to the free trade and settlement of the English in India, and they, therefore, conceive it to be a great hardship that they should be placed under the Company's courts.

29. This is an ingenious attempt to compound two things which are in themselves widely different and which the English Parliament and nation are likely to regard with very different feelings. The jealousy of interlopers, which the Company felt while the Company was still a commercial body was natural and not inexcusable ; but it was a feeling not likely in any age to meet with much sympathy from the public, and the spirit of our age is so strongly, and as I think justly, opposed to restriction on trade, that an interloper, thwarted and depressed by a powerful monopolist, is sure to have the general voice on his side.

30. But is it just or reasonable to advert to a state of things which has wholly passed away, for the purpose of raising a cry against the Indian Government? The Company is no longer the competitor of the private merchant ; it has ceased to be a commercial body ; it is now merely a ruling body, and as such, it has no interest to exclude from its dominions any class of people who are likely to make those dominions more flourishing by carrying thither the arts and industry of Europe.

31. As to the apprehension which the petitioners express, that the effect of this enactment may be to deter Europeans from settling in India, I cannot do better than quote the language of a most valuable servant of the Company, the late lamented Mr. Mill.* That gentleman was asked by the

* James Mill, father of John Stuart Mill. Both the father and the son were on the clerical establishment of the East India Company.

Committee of the House of Commons which sat on Indian Affairs in 1832, whether he did not conceive that the total abolition of the King's courts would prevent Europeans from settling in the interior. His answer was, "By no means. I think the same motives which carry them into the interior now, as far as their objects are honest and justifiable, would carry them there still; and if they go there for the gain of misconduct and oppression, it is very much to be desired that they should not go at all."

32. It is impossible that any rational person can be so prejudiced against the Company and its servants as really to believe that having given up all connexions with trade, they are still jealous of all other traders.

33. But there is a jealousy widely different from the old commercial jealousy, of which the Company is invidiously and unfoundedly accused by the petitioners, a jealousy which it is their duty, and that of all who are in authority under them to entertain, that jealousy is not the jealousy of a merchant, afraid of being undersold, but the jealousy of a ruler afraid that the subjects for whose wellbeing he is answerable should be pillaged and oppressed. India has been subjugated by English arms and is governed by English functionaries. To be an Englishman is therefore a rank in India. Nor is this all: those qualities which enabled us to conquer, and which now enable us to govern the country, that valour, that resolution, that intelligence, that closeness of union, that marked superiority, both in mental and physical energy, which reared our empire and which have upheld it, make every individual Englishman a formidable object to the native population. Under these circumstances, there is reason to fear that a tyranny of the worst sort, the tyranny of race over race, may be the effect of the free admission of British settlers into our provinces. This apprehension the British Parliament evidently entertained when it passed the Charter Act; and if any person is inclined to think it an unfounded apprehension, I would refer him to the writings and speeches to which this very Act has given occasion. In these speeches and writings it will not be difficult for him to detect, under the disguise of expressions which in England are

generally employed by demagoges, the spirit of an oligarchy, as proud and exclusive as that of Venice itself.

34. Against that spirit it is the first duty of the Government to make a firm stand. I, at least, will make no concession to it, and I must earnestly hope that the unflinching and uncompromising resistance which I have, in common with my colleagues, felt it my duty to offer to demands made in that spirit, will be approved by the Honorable Court. I hope so, not principally on my own account, though their approbation must always be most gratifying to me, but because I am convinced that on the course which they may take the dearest interest of this empire depends.

35. In all ages and countries, a great town which is the seat of the Government is likely to exercise an influence on public measures disproportioned to its real importance. This is no evil, if the interests, the opinions, and the feelings of the population of such a town coincide with those of the population of the empire; but in India, unfortunately, while the influence of the society of the capital of the Government is greater than in almost any other country, the interests, feelings and opinions of that society are often diametrically opposed to those of the mass of the people. Calcutta is an English colony in the midst of an Oriental population. Here we are surrounded by men of the same race and colour with ourselves, by men who speak and write our language, by men who constantly correspond with the country to which we all hope to return. That the favourable and unfavourable opinions of such men should affect us more than the opinion of crowds of foreigners, of heathens, of blacks; that the execrations of whole provinces in the mofussil should wound our feelings less than a scurrilous article in a Calcutta newspaper; that the benedictions of whole provinces should gratify us less than a complimentary address from 50 or 60 of our own countrymen, is, I fear, but too natural. To overcome these feelings; to take greater interest in the many, who are separated from us by strong lines of distinction, than in a few to whom we are bound by close ties; to brave the clamourous censure of those who surround us, for the purpose of serving those whose praises we shall never hear, is no more than our

duty ; but it is a duty in the performance of which we have, I think, a peculiar claim on the home authorities to support and encouragement. We have now, in defiance of misrepresentation, abuse, and calumny, passed a law, which is considered by ourselves, by the late Governor-General, by the Governor in Council of Madras, by the Governor in Council of Bombay, by all, or almost all, the Civil Servants of the Company, as a law beneficial to the great body of the people. The English settlers in the mofussil, the English at the Towns of Madras and Bombay, are, to all appearance, contented with it, the English population of Calcutta alone, led on by a class of men who live by the worst abuses of the worst court in the world, have raised an outcry against us. If that outcry be successful, the prospects of this country will be dark indeed, but I know the Honourable Court and the British Legislature too well to think that it can be successful, and I confidently expect that we shall receive on this occasion such support as may encourage us, and those who shall succeed us, when legislating for the general good of India, to disregard the clamour of Calcutta,

(Sd.) T. B. MACAULAY.

In the above grand state document to which Macaulay's biographer makes not the slightest mention, the greatest English rhetorician had shown with what admirable lucidity he could expose the knotty points of law and with what marvellous moderation and tact he could reply to his opponents. The bold tone, the calm confidence, the uncompromising attitude, the persuasive language, the utter disregard of either praise or blame, that run throughout the memorable minute, went a great way in convincing the Home Authorities that truth and justice were on his side and in winning final victory for him. As a matter of fact, the petition of the Calcutta agitators against the Black Act was considered by a committee of the House of Commons, but the result was in favour of the Government

of India. The kind of advocacy which Macaulay did for enacting the Black Act, thereby chiefly aiming at abolishing all race distinctions in India, and placing both the rulers and the ruled on a footing of equality, so far as the law of the country was concerned, arose mainly out of his strong Whiggish nature. In doing so, he fought with his own countrymen, for depriving them of a legal right to which, he thought, they had not the slightest claim. In that conviction, he acted throughout without any fear or favour, and thought that by enacting the Black Act, and subjecting his countrymen to the jurisdiction of the Company's courts, he was able to disillusionise them of the mischievous idea that they were a privileged class in India. The result was his unpopularity in Calcutta Society. But he was supremely indifferent to the calumnies hurled at him by the Calcutta agitators.

S. C SANIAL.

(To be continued.)

Art. VI.—HORO DURANGKO ; OR MUNDARI SONGS.

BY MAULAVI ABDUL WALI,

Member, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

IN collecting, transliterating and translating, these songs—the Folk Poesy of the Mundas—I have experienced an unusual amount of difficulty. The first, though not the foremost, difficulty for a newcomer to Chota Nagpur like myself, was the bewildering similarity of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Plateau, in colour, habit and speech. As time passed by, and some experience was gained, the problem became less perplexing. Practical experience showed that the people, who appeared so undistinguishable from one another, and similar in complexion and habiliments, were dissimilar in speech, temperament, and sympathies, and that each race was sub-divided into innumerable septs. It took me some time to ascertain that while some of the songs they sing were in Mundari, others were in Uraon or Sadān (Hindi). However long one might live among the Kols of Chota Nagpur, one would never be able to distinguish one race from another, merely from outward appearance. There is, however, real variety in apparent similarity.

After considerable deliberations and thinking I determined to collect a few Mundari songs, which are sung by one of the most important races that dwell in parts of Chota Nagpur. I had as many songs of these primitive people, as I could conveniently collect, reduced to writing in Hindi. I then set to work and find out what those songs treated of. Out of them I selected a few typical songs, transliterated them in the Roman

character, classified them into their various sections, and with considerable difficulty translated them into English. The songs, which I herewith present, have been collected from such parts of the Munda country, where the language is spoken with greater purity and which is not yet contaminated by alien influences. The modern aliens—including Christian Missionaries—who have learnt the language, cannot understand these songs, without being interpreted. My official duties often made it inconvenient for me to find out from the blue-blooded Mundas, who live far away from the headquarters, the true interpretations of these songs. It was exceedingly difficult for me to get an accurate knowledge of the various Munda customs from those young Mundas who had been removed early from their village surroundings, christianized and educated, and who in their borrowed costume, and affected manners, know nothing of, or everything but, their own country and people. The Mundas who have come under the influence of the Missionaries are proud of speaking Hindi and forgetting their own mother-speech. I present the songs to the public with English renderings and notes, as specimens of the unwritten literature of a very primitive and deeply interesting aboriginal race, who, I believe, are destined, sooner or later, to be wiped out from existence as a distinct race by the modern civilizing influences, which persist to wean the savage races from primitive ways, and induce them to adopt modern practices.

RACE AND COUNTRY.

The chief dialect of the Chota Nagpur Plateau is usually, though inaccurately, called *Mundari*. It is spoken in the southern and western parts of the Ranchi District, and also in north Singhbhum. The principal

Kholarian races are the *Hoṛo* and the *Kurukh*,* the one, it is said, preceding the other in its retreat into the hills and forests of Chota Nagpur. The *Hoṛoko* or the Mundas, and the *Kurkhar* or the *Uraoṇs*, in spite of differences in their languages, and also in manners, fraternized in their mountain fastnesses and common distress. Necessity forced the one to adopt what was wanting in the other.

The wide green meadows, verdant earth encircled by blue hillocks, from which gush out innumerable rivulets, stimulated their passion to drink, to dance, and to be merry. In process of time, and under the altered circumstances of their living, these simple people came to dread and worship the *nags*, (snakes) which infested the hills and forests of the Plateau. Out of this superstitious fear was evolved a supernatural King, who lorded it over them, and called into being sacerdotal and martial castes, whose title to those offices are still disputed, and at times disregarded.†

But the Province of Magha has always been a recruiting ground for various trades and crafts which the denizens of the Plateau were badly in need of. These later emigrants have in various ways revolutionized their manners, customs, and beliefs.

Both the people now sing songs either in their original *Hoṛo-Kaji* and *Kurukh*, (or Mundari and *Uraoṇ*) or in the Budhistic dialect of Magha, called *Gawāṛi-Hindi*. But happily there are still representatives of one of

* *Ho*, or *Hoṛo* is singular; *Hoṛoko* plural. *Kurukh* is singular; *Kurkhar* plural; *Hoṛo-Kaji* (the man-language) is the Mundari language.

† The Nagbansi Rajas of Chota Nagpur became great potentates among Hindus and grew to despise the Kols. Foreigners were introduced, to whom lands were assigned for military and religious services. They supported the Raja in his innovations. Gradually some of the chieftains of the tribe, *Mankis*, etc., were won over to Hinduism, without altogether rejecting their ancient sylvan deities. The masses, however, remained in their pristine state. Abstracted from Colonel Dalton's ethnology of Bengal. *Vide* Statistical Account of Lohardaga District, 1877.

these races who know but one language. The Ho_{ro}ko of Mankipatis, the Panch Parganas, and Sonpur, speak their language in almost its pristine purity, and have very little to do with the corrupting influences of the Magha aliens.

VILLAGE COMMUNION.

The Ho_{ro} race is divided into *Kilis* or septs. The peculiarity of the place and the race is that one must level the ground and cut the forest in order to make a particular area one's home. Each Kili is, therefore, the owner of a particular tract of the country. The head-man or patriarch of the family, who is called *Pahaṇ*, offers sacrifices to protect the village from snakes and wild beasts, presides over communal functions, and transmits rents to the superior-landlord, assisted by his assistant called *Munda*. During the supremacy of the British Law Courts, the *Munda* who attended them, and who represented the village, was looked upon as the head of the village. The junior members of the family are called *Mundaris*. Owing to the exclusiveness of the race, and the inability or indifference of alien law-officers, the representatives of the village—*Mundas* or *Munras*—were regarded as holders of the racial designation of the people. So according to the dictum of certain scholars “the fact that he (Colonel Dalton, the author of the ‘Ethnography’) regarded the name ‘Munda’ as their racial designation shows how successful were the village delegates, who bore that title, in screening the brotherhood from the officials” This is however supposing too much, as the officials might, from individual instances, have supposed the whole race to be of the same designation, without any deception on the part of the simple delegates, as they were simple

enough to deceive anybody. Also, those Mundas who have been living at and round the Ranchi town, and to the west of the District, from which they as a dominant race have been crowded out, had very little to lose or gain by concealing the racial nomenclature. They are living with aliens, and under the fullest glamour of public gaze and official scrutiny. Nay, long before the time when Ranchi or Lohardaga was made the headquarters of a District, the terms Munda and Mundari were used in the documents registered by the Qazis of that period. The real fact, so far as I can judge, is that the word Munda (*Hin*: Mandal) like all their words expressing village communities, etc., is a foreign word, used indifferently both for a village headman as well as the racial designation of the Ho or Ho $\ddot{\text{o}}$ ko.* To the foreigner they are the Mundas ; to the brotherhood Ho $\ddot{\text{o}}$ ko. What "Khan" is to an Aghan or a Turk, what "Esquire" is to an Englishman, the designation "Munda" is to a Ho $\ddot{\text{o}}$. It is at once conventional and indefinite. In the Panch Parganas, as well as towards Thana Khu $\ddot{\text{u}}$ ti, where the ancient system is still intact, the title Munda is borne by a village functionary, who is of course of Ho $\ddot{\text{o}}$ race, but in other localities it is used by a village functionary irrespective of race, as also by the remnants of the Ho $\ddot{\text{o}}$ race. The word Mundari is seldom or never used by the latter in such tracts

The Nagpur nationality is composed of several distinct tribes, each of which is split up into a number of clans. Social intercourse with the members of the other sex is not denied to them. Excepting the Uraojs and Mundas the other tribes are inoculated with Hindu

* The word Munda-Savaka or disciples of the shaving is used among Buddhist orders of hermits, *vide* Rhys Davids' "Buddhist India," p. 145.

ideas, but, like the Uraoṇs and Mundas, with aboriginal habits.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The Rev. Father Hoffmann, S. J., in his Mundari Grammar says that "neither civilisation nor intellectual activity have so far exercised any marked influence on the language." Again, "their religious system is neither very clear nor homogeneous." This is quite true. But certain of their festivals ; the *Diku* or Sadan language (Hindi) which they speak ; and the Hinduised aborigines that dwell side by side with them, indicate that some of their songs and ceremonies are not only tinged with Buddhistic and Baisnav ideas, but I am sure that at some ancient time, Buddhist missionaries had converted these simple folks, as they had converted the barbarian hordes of Central Asia, to their ideas. These beliefs are quite pronounced in the case of Sawāṇsis and Bairagis. Any one—without giving up the racial distinction—can become a *Bhagat*. The modern Kol beliefs, I think, are the product of the infusion of two ideas, acting on and being reacted in turn—though it is obvious, without appreciably influencing the original social and religious life of those shy and ever—retreating Mundaris, who vacated the plain and settled in the elevated and jungle-covered tracts on the *West* and *South*. The more one proceeds towards the southern and western sides of Chota Nagpur the less one observes alien influences on the life of the Munda people. The Mundari fraternized with the Uraoṇ, when the latter came to live with them, but they left them, I think, when the Buddhistic or Baisnav wave swept over the country, and the Uraon people were won over to the Buddhistic or Baisnav side. But, nevertheless, the alien

influences have been never absent altogether from their language and manners. The *Karma** festival, to take one instance, is distinctly Hindu or rather Buddhistic in its conception and ideas. The songs sung in different places in Chota Nagpur are often composed in Hindi such as it is spoken in the Buddhistic Magha (Gaya and neighbouring districts). The aborigines of Chota Nagpur Plateau use more the old, than the Sanskritic, form of words. With the gradual downfall of Buddhism the Brahmanical influences spread everywhere, except in mountainous regions or out-of-the way places. The Hindi spoken in Chota Nagpur is more primitive and Buddhistic, than modern and Brahmanical—only it is intermixed with the local *patois*.

May I conclude from the above argument that at some remote period the Buddhistic influences were predominant at Chota Nagpur. The *Bhagats* or Baisnava religious reformers followed the Buddhist monks, when the latter system went out of fashion, and the former came into vogue.† The prevalent ideas, as expressed in the lyrics, give us but a faint glimpse into the dim past of the place and the races. The matter requires, however, more systematic investigation than I am capable of doing.

PLAYS AND SONGS.

The time of the Mundari and Uraon aborigines of Chota Nagpur, always of gay and frolicsome disposition,

* Gautama held that after the death of any being, whether human or not, there survived nothing at all, but that being's Karma, or the result of his deeds. Every being (human or divine) is the inheritor and last result of the Karma of a long series of past individuals. Abstracted from Rhys Davids' Lectures.

† The Statistical Account of the District of Lohardaga (now Ranchi), pp. 447-450, gives extracts from Professor Blochmann's Notes on the steps that were taken by Akbar and Jahangir for the subjugation of Chota Nagpur. Men of South Behar and Western Bengal composed some of the detachments sent against the Raja of Chota Nagpur. Baisnav ideas must have been introduced about this time.

is divided between work and play—play first, work next. Nay, their secular and religious life is taken up with play and drink, and nightly and periodical dances. Unlettered, shut up in their native hillocks and forests, these sons of nature, nevertheless, display a high talent for dancing and singing. Males and females, young and old, more often young than old, take part in their frequently-recurring village feasts. Attired in the country-woven clothes, interwoven with red lines, with barbaric ornaments of brass and copper, their hair adorned by flowers, plumes and feathers, the girls proceed to the Akhṛā, diverting themselves on the way by exchanging pleasantries with the boys whom they accompany. In Jatras which take place once or twice a year, in some known places, different bands come with their own flags, drums, and musical instruments. They always dance—men and women—in a ring or chorus, indulging in gaiety and fun.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The musical instruments in ordinary use among the populace are maṇḍar or dumaṇg, nagṛā, narsinga, dhol and sahnai. The maṇḍar, nagṛā, and dhol, are different kinds of drums. A maṇḍar is a huge drum, fitted with the skin of a monkey on one side, and of a goat on the other. The mouth of a nagṛā is wide, fitted with the skin of a buffalo, but its other side is narrow and has a very small hole, and a *dhol* is fitted with the skin of a calf on one side, and of a goat on the other side. Sahnai is a sort of flute. Narsinga is a kind of crooked bugle. These instruments seem to have been all borrowed from the Hindus, as their names show. Did the Hindus take some of these instruments from the aborigines?

CLASSIFICATIONS OF PLAYS.

The following are the principal kinds of plays they perform during the course of a year :—

I. Magē or Jarga is played from Sohrai (Katik or October) to the month of Magh (February-March).

II. Jadur is played from Magh to Baha or Sarhul. The festivities at Sahrul are celebrated from Magh to Jaith (May-June) but usually in Chait (March-April) according to the customs of different villages.

II (a). Gena :—After every two Jadurs one gena is sung.

III. Japi :—From the day of Baha or Baha Chandu is played for 15 days or in some tracts for one month. Japi is played on the occasion of hunting or *shikar* when the villagers indulge in hunting—killing tigers, deer, and all kinds of game.

IV. Karma or Lahsua is played from the Baha Chandu or the new moon after Baha to Sohrai.

In the annexed diagram No. I is depicted the position in the Jarga play of the dancers—boys, girls, beaters of musical instruments and of mandar. Their body sways forward as they move on in a ring, dancing all the time up and down, always preserving the position, their feet and waist moving as if in mechanical unison. One of the men acts as a master of the ceremonies, who commences a song, which is repeated by the dancers—first by the boys and then by the girls in chorus. The dancing is kept up with great spirit and joviality, and appears to be full of grace and unity. They dance to the tune of music, going round and round ; but no sooner do the dancers turn round on the opposite direction, than the musicians too change their tune and direction, as if mechanically. Among the southern Mundas the boys and girls stand apart,

although both enjoy the near proximity of each other, and the home-manufactured beer, which is consumed in abundance ; the beauty of the thing is that nothing appears to be immoral or indecorous in the whole performance. There is, as far as I could see, no part of the dance with grotesque postures or coarse gestures in the public performances. The number of the boys and girls that take part in the play, is large or small, according to the area and extent of the stage (*akhra*) allotted for the purpose.

In the performance known as Jadur, the position and movement of the various parties remain the same as in Jarga or Magē, only the players stand straight and move on, or romp in rapid whirling motion, as in waltz, with different movements of the body. Similarly in *Gena* the body of the dancers remains erect or bended, as they move on, swinging backwards and forwards, with occasionally one of the legs lifted up and bended at the knee.

Diagram No. II shows the position, the boys and girls, as well as the musicians, occupy respectively in the play called Karam or Lahsua. In front and rear stand the musicians. The middle is occupied by the males and females in rows of several abreast ; the boys occupying the front, and the girls the back, lines. The whole company of actors, including the musicians, proceed up and recede down very spiritedly. In this the players do not move on in a ring.

I have been told that the manner and position of dancers vary according to the custom of the different places. And I believe, from what I have heard and understood, that the songs sung are classified according to the way they are rendered, though the rhyme may sometimes vary.

URAON PLAYS.

It will not be amiss, if I allude *en passant* to the various kinds of *Kurukh* or *Uraon* songs, all of which have been adopted by the Mundas in most parts of the country. The performance called *Kharia* is gone through from the end of Bhado η to Katik ; *Jarga* and *Matha* from Aghan to Pous ; Jadur from Magh to Baisakh, again *Kharia* in Jaith ; and Karam from Asin to 28th Bhado η . The period is calculated according to luni-solar months.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

The hilly Chota Nagpur differs in many respects from the plains of Bengal—in *fauna* and *flora* and as regards life and culture of men and women. Fresh from the Gangetic plains, some of my first impressions of the locality were unique. I saw streams issuing from hillocks, as well as from fields. The rivers had no water. No one knew what a boat was like.

The palki started while the sky was overcast with cloud, and the morning had not dawned. I fell asleep in the palki. After an hour or so my eyes open, and lo, what do I see ! The sun appears through the cloud, the surrounding range of dark green hillocks which encircle the horizon, green grass, and pretty trees, are suddenly transformed into a fairy land, and I am lost in thought and reverie.

Going with a *Kol* boy I hear for the first time in my life a noise—shrill and distant. Is it the song of a bird ? I proceed on with my guide, mute and afraid of making an enquiry, lest the songster may fly. As I go on noiselessly, nearer comes in the noise from behind. Is this the singing of a *Kol* girl ? My guide replies “Yes.” “Do you consider it nice ?” “Yes, Sir” was the

reply. I question my guide very quietly, lest the girl may feel bashful, and stop singing. The singer, a fat black woman, then passes by me to the *Akhra* while singing on, without taking the slightest notice of on-lookers.

The day's work being finished, I sit down quietly to think over the various problems of which an official's life is made up, and of those other matters which never leave one on this side of the grave. I see a company of frisky Kol girls, and jolly boys, after their day's labour is at an end, going several abreast, singing merrily. Suddenly my former thoughts leave me for a while, and I ask "Who is happier? Is life that educated and civilized nations lead worth anything as compared with that of these unthinking people?" "If the savage life is in accordance with nature, the whole progress of civilization has been the result of an effort to get away from nature."

In Mundari vowels are all short. Nasal n is indicated with a dot or mark below it as *n̄*, *ū*. *ā̄* and *t̄*; with a dot under them should be pronounced as in German, or as in Arabic > and *ɔ̄*. Certain of these letters cannot be pronounced by the foreigners.

DIAGRAM I.

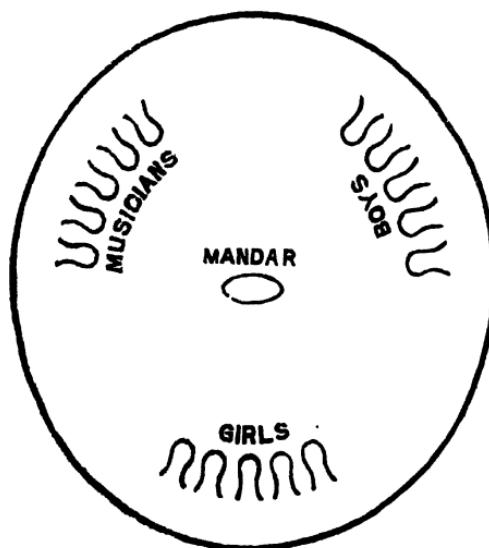
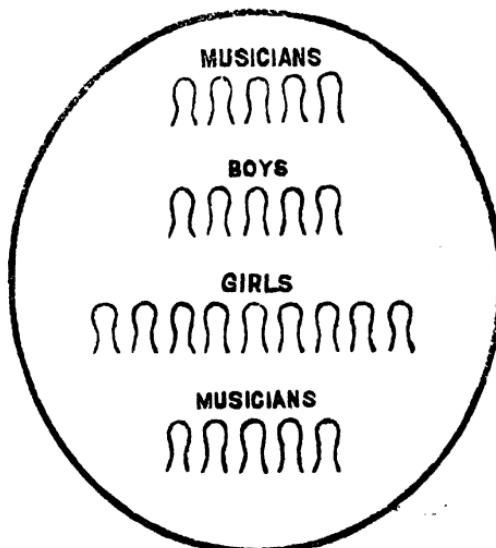


DIAGRAM II



SONG I.
LAHSUA.

1. Hohorē kuṛi bano āma muṇdi.
2. Niral uṭu rongokeda maṇḍi naṅg kuṛi.
3. Bano ama muṇdi.
4. Nirṭanam piṛi piṛi bahaledam chaṭu lundaij.
5. Kuṛi bano ama muṇdi
6. Emkedai dali taka ama kakam leka kedai.
7. Kuṛi bano ama muṇdi.
8. Gonong siṭa miad baṇḍi gunḍi.
9. Na kuṛi bano ama muṇdi.
10. Binandas kajitanaī nawa samai sengo senai.
11. Kuṛi bano ama muṇdi.
12. Modṭelang seno juṛi juṛi.
13. Kuṛi bano ama muṇdi.

TRANSLATION.

1. Hallo ! Hallo, Girl, nothing is certain of thee.
2. Thou burnt the savoury curry (with gravy) that was being cooked for the meal.
3. Girl ! nothing is certain of thee.
4. Thou art running across the field, wearing cooking pots and spoons (made of the outer rind or covering of a pumpkin).
5. Girl ! nothing is certain of thee.
6. Thou wast bought with (nuptial) money, (which) thy uncle counted.
7. Girl ! nothing is certain of thee.
8. Thy price at first was a tailless cow.
9. Girl ! nothing is certain of thee.
10. Saith Binandas,* she would go at another time.
11. Girl ! nothing is certain of thee.
12. Come, let us both go together.
13. Girl ! nothing is certain of thee.

* I could not learn anything about Binandas. His advanced ideas only find expression in Lahsua or Karma songs.

NOTE.

A newly married girl is running away from her husband's house. A man meets her and accosts, and jokes with, her on her conduct.

Nuptial money is equal to two to six bullocks or buffaloes, which the bridegroom gives to the bridal party. Rich men give dowers in buffaloes, kine, or in landed property in the name of their sons-in-law.

In cooking, oil of surguja, mustard or dola (*i.e.* oil of Mahua fruits) and salt are necessary.

The Mundas have their midday meal, consisting of rice and vegetables, cooked on the previous evening. Rice and pulse-curry are cooked and eaten at about 9 P.M., of which they keep half for the next day meal.

SONG II.

LAHSUA.

1. Bhati oṛa pit piri honoṛtan juṛi juṛi.
2. Niral sobha leloṭanakin kulgiakin bano hiyaṭing.
3. Aṭa ṭaben kirinqṭana arkiloo chakraq jomṭana.
4. Jiu baṛe rajitana gapaṭe gaṭing bano hiyaṭing.
5. Sona sakha munga mala jinang bhari inagi bhala.
6. Mogoe leka landa jagarṭanakin bano hiyaṭing.
7. Nawa hit pirtikin bano hiyaṭing.
8. Bano munḍi naṭa goṭa pap punrē bano paṭa.
9. Bināḍas do kajitanai thorea musing bano hiyaṭing.
10. Nawa hit pirtikin bano hiyaṭing.

TRANSLATION.

1. At the marketplace where the grogshop is—Both
are walking *tête-a-tête*.
2. Both look very pretty—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.
3. They are purchasing fried flattened rice--
Eating it with liquor.
4. Their heart beats in unison, everything for the
morrow—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.
5. Gold, shell, coral, beads—
They are good throughout life.
6. Smiling, laughing, and talking—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.
7. Newly united couple—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.

8. There is no knowing as to their relationship—
No idea of sin and reward.
9. So saith Binandas—
Some day they will grow wiser.
10. Newly united couple—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.

NOTE.

The idea of sin and reward is a non-Munda one.

SONG III.

LAHSUA.

1. Nawa samay rakablena bilaiṭi gicha bahalena.
2. Maina chimindin taina.
3. Bakhriṭedo jhinga baha bahalena.
4. Maina chimindin taina.
5. Rachare gitisia kenam girigido bahalena.
6. Maina chimindin taina.
7. Ama samai phaway seno ṭanarē.
8. Maina chimindin taina.
9. Sim merom sobē jomtanare.
10. Maina chimindin taina.
11. Binandas ḍo lelkeḍai nawa samai hijulena.
12. Maina chimindin taina.
13. Haḍam hoṛo sobe bağıṭana.
14. Maina chimindin taina.
15. Ama samai phaway seno kenarē.
16. Maina chimindin taina.

TRANSLATION.

1. New time had come, tomato had blossomed.
2. Maid, how long will it last ?
3. In the garden adjoining the house, jhinga had flowered.
4. Maid, how long will it last ?
5. Thou slept in the courtyard, giri-geḍu had flowered.
6. Maid, how long will it last ?
7. Thy time is passing away in vain.
8. Maid, how long will it last ?
9. Fowls and goats thou art eating all,

10. Maid, how long will it last?
11. Binandas sees, new time has come up,
12. Maid, how long will it last?
13. Old men are all leaving,
14. Maid, how long will it last?
15. Thy time is passing away in vain,
16. Maid, how long will it last?

SONG IV.

JADUR.

1. Samai samai go samai senoṭana.
2. Samai samai go nosair noṭanglen.
3. Mikia sindurite samai senoṭan.
4. Barandorea sasangtē nosair noṭanglen.
5. Noko hoṭoa kajitē samai senoṭan.
6. Chimai hoṭoa bakanṛtē nosair noṭanglen.
7. Gaṭim hoṭoa kajitē samai senoṭan.
8. Sangim hoṭoa bakanṛtē nosair noṭanglen.

TRANSLATION.

1. The time ! the time ! the time passes away.
2. The time ! the time ! (like) the whirlwind it moves away
3. From within the vermillion-pot, the time passes away.
4. It fleets from within the turmeric-pot, as a whirlwind.
5. By whose order is the time fleeting ?
6. By whose advice does the time (like) the whirlwind pass away ?
7. It fleets by order of thy companion.
8. It passes (like) a whirlwind by the advice of thy associate.

NOTE.

The bride becomes old, no sooner is the vermillion applied on her forehead at her nuptial, or the turmeric is rubbed on her body. The vermillion and turmeric powders are kept in earthen pots. The poet means to say that the time is so fleeting and life so transient that a girl becomes old even before these articles are taken out of their réceptacles.

SONG V.
JADUR.

1. Magē phagunrē susun kođo.
2. Asar sawan rē karam kođo.
3. Susun kođo rabang jana.
4. Karam kođo rearjana.
5. Niđia kopē bursirē sengel.
6. Sētēra kopē ruṭara buchāng.
7. Bursirē sengel kē chokē dupilkeđai.
8. Ruṭara buchung kē tētenga tēngō keđai.

TRANSLATION.

1. The dancers in Magh-Phagun.
2. Karam dancers in Asarh-Sawan.
3. The dancers felt cold.
4. Karam dancers felt shivering cold
(on account of being soaked with rain water).
5. Carry to them fire in paddy-husk.
6. Convey to them *ruṭa* fuel partially burnt.
7. Fire in paddy husk, the frog carried on its head.
8. The partially burnt *ruṭa* wood the lizard bore on its shoulder.

NOTE.

In this—as in other similar songs—the first two lines are connected with, or explained by, the third and fourth lines respectively. Similarly the fifth and sixth lines are connected respectively by the seventh and eighth lines.

SONG VI.

JADUR.

1. Buṭarē hēndē rimil subarē gamalēđa.
2. Baiđoga pērēlēn nangkaři ḍoṛanglen.
3. Mara lirē lirem dewaridoga pērēlēn.
4. Mar hojor hojorem nangkaři ḍoṛanglen.
5. Chimințegē lirēam dewaridoga pērēlēn.
6. Chimințegē hojoram nangkaři ḍoṛanglen.

TRANSLATION.

1. The black cloud (is) on the horizon ; it rains.
2. (The rivulets) have flooded, the roots (of trees that spread towards the ditches) are giving away.

3. Let thee run and run (*i.e.*, run fast,) the (river) Deori has swollen.
4. Let thee walk fast, the roots are giving away.
5. How much wilt thou run, the Deori has overflowed.
6. How fast wilt thou walk, the roots are giving away.

NOTE.

In this song, the poet describes the terrible scene which sometimes takes place at the time of a violent storm, which suddenly bursts forth, accompanied by heavy downpour, when the village folks are still far from their home.

The river Deori is on the east of Burju in the Khuṇti thana.

SONG VII.

JADUR.

1. Hora hora ranga hasa mai re kichiriḍo rangalena.
2. Bujuhaṭu dakhin tolarē jadurako susunkena.
3. Dola ṭobu lelia kichiri ḍo rangalena.
4. Dola ṭobu chinalia jaḍura ko susun kena.
5. Besleka leloa kichiriḍo rangalena.
6. Besleka chinhaoa jaḍurako susun kena.

TRANSLATION.

1. Throughout the way (*is*) red Clay, O damsel? (*he*) has dyed his clothing red.
2. In the southern tola (part) of Buruhatu jadur is going on.
3. Let us go and see if (*his*) the clothing is dyed red.
4. Let us go and observe if jaḍura is going on.
5. It looks nice the red-dyed clothing.
6. (*He*) looks pretty in jaḍur (dancing, on account of his clothing being dyed red).

NOTE.

The first and second lines are connected with the third and fourth, as also with the fifth and sixth lines respectively. Apparently a village damsel has taken a fancy to a man who has dyed his clothing red, and she wishes his companion to go with her to the dancing, and admire the man's dress, dyed red, or rather the beau who has attracted her fancy.

SONG VIII.

JADUR.

1. Singi turo horarēdo nokoi mai re niyam ḥana.
2. Chāndu molong dahareḍo ehi mai mairē sahēḍanai.
3. Singi turo hora re ḍo gaṭim mairē niyam ḥanaī.
4. Chāndu molong dahar rē ḍo sangi mai rē sahēḍanai.
5. Gaṭim mai re niam ḥan seke ken seke ken.
6. Sangi mai re sahēḍ ken sekēḍ ken sekēḍ ken.

TRANSLATION.

1. On the way to sunrise (east) O Girl who laments ?
2. On the way to moonrise (west) O damsel who bewails ?
3. On the way to sunrise, O damsel thy lover laments.
4. On the way to moonrise, O damsel thy enchanter bewails.
5. O damsel, thy lover laments, seke ken seke ken.
6. O damsel, thy enchanter bewails seke ken seke ken.

NOTE.

The interjectional phrase *seke ken seke ken* is the sound of weeping.

SONG IX.

JADUR.

1. Dola Gaṭingrē Sili sikar rē.
2. Dola sanging rē Jhalida gamarē.
3. Sili sikar rē nokoe menaiya.
4. Jhalida gama rē chimai menaiya.
5. Sili sikar rē gaṭim menaiya.
6. Jhalida gamarē sangim menaiya.

TRANSLATION.

1. Let us, friend, to Sili sikar (game).
2. Let us, friend, to Jhalida country.
3. In the Sili sikar, who is there ? (whom shall we meet?).
4. In the Jhalida country, who is there ?
5. In the Sili sikar, thy love is there.
6. In the Jhalida country, thy charmer is there.

NOTE.

Sili is full of jungle and is famous for game, it is 36 miles east of Ranchi town. Jhalida too is famous for game and is 45 miles east of Ranchi.

SONG X.

JADUR.

1. Sisi piṛi rē dhechua sisi kairṭan.
2. Dhechua balear baṛirē dhechua lalakairṭan.
3. Rengai menaṭē dhechua sisikairṭan.
4. Dhechua tetang menaitē dhechua lalakairṭan.
5. Sonsoroe menaṭē dhechua sisikairṭan.
6. Dhechua pampalad menaṭē dhechua lalakairṭan.

TRANSLATION.

1. In the Sisipiri the Dhechua is twittering.
2. The Dhechua in Balē badi, the Dhechua is whistling.
3. On account of hunger, the Dhechua is twittering.
4. On account of thirst, the Dhechua is whistling.
5. (Having seen) grass hoppers the Dhechua is twittering.
6. (Having seen) butterflies the Dhechua is whistling.

NOTE.

Dhechua is a singing bird, which, sometimes, sings softly and sometimes loudly. Piṛi is a taṇ or high land, and badi a don land which dries soon. *Sisipiri* and *Balē badi* appear to be proper names of fields.

SONG XI.

JADUR.

1. Saḍom do saḍom do ṭuiyu leka saḍomdo.
2. Paṅkar ḍo paṅkarḍo nata tira paṅkarḍo.
3. Dola ṭobu lelia ṭuiyu leka saḍomdo.
4. Dola ṭobu chinhaia nata tira paṅkarḍo.
5. Achha leka leloa ṭuiyu leka saḍomdo.
6. Bes leka chinhaoa nata tira paṅkarḍo.
7. Saḍom je ki ki lē henheken honhonken.
8. Paṅkar je misirlē bijirken balangken.

TRANSLATION.

1. The horse, the horse ! the fox-like horse.
2. The paikar, the paikar ! the dwarfish paikar.

3. Let us go and see the fox-like horse.
4. Let us go and view the dwarfish paikar.
5. It looks fine, the fox-like horse.
6. It appears pretty, the dwarfish paikar.
7. The horse is neighing heṇ-heṇ, hoṇ hoṇ.
8. The paikar is showing (its) shining teeth.

NOTE.

Paikar is from Hindi, and means a retail trader. The village folks are very much amused at the sight of a mean-looking trader sitting on an ugly looking horse passing through a Munda Village.

Heṇ-heṇ, hoṇ-hoṇ are the neighing sounds of the horse.

SONG XII.

JADUR.

1. Bundu bandā jhilpileka maina bijir bijir.
2. Raja bandā achraleka maina bial boyol.
3. Nengamra sunuya maina bijir bijir.
4. Napumra sasang maina bial boyol.
5. Dola ṭobu lelea maina bijir bijir.
6. Dola ṭobu chinhaia maina bial boyol.
7. Besleka leloa maina bijir bijir.
8. Achha leka chinhaoa bial boyol.

TRANSLATION.

1. (The water of) Bundu Band like Jhilpi, O damsel is glittering.
2. (The water of) Raja Band, like achra, O damsel, is moving.
3. The oil (in possession) of thy mother, O damsel is glittering.
4. Thy father's turmeric (dyed cloth) O damsel, is moving.
5. Let us go and see, O damsel, the glittering (the sight of the glittering water).
6. Let us go and view, O damsel, the moving water.
7. It is pleasant to look at, O damsel, the glittering (water).
8. It is enchanting to view the moving (water).

NOTE.

Jhilpi is a piece of tin or brass cut triangularly and fastened with a chain to the lobes of the ear, by Mundari women as an ornament. Achra is the coloured border of a Munda woman's sari which when moved with wind looks as if the fish in a pond are swimming.

There is a large lake at Bundu, District Ranchi, constructed about 60 years ago by the Sarawaks of Manjhitolā at Bundu, by erecting an embankment on the southern side of it. The Raja band is probably at Tamar.

SONG XIII.

JADUR.

1. Dolang senoa bakuli raja bandhṭeya bakuli.
2. Dolang biriḍeya bakuli Sobornakaṭē.
3. Raja baḍh ḍoya bakuli nanjeḍjana.
4. Sobornakadoya bakuli sengedjana.
5. Nicha pichaya bakuli niyamṭana.
6. Siripiya bakuli saeḍṭana.
7. Senged sengedya bakuli niyamṭana.
8. Sombodya bakuli saeḍṭana.

TRANSLATION.

1. O Bakuli ! Let us go to the Raja band,
2. Let us proceed, O Bakuli ! to the Subarnika.
3. Raja band, O Bakuli, is dried up.
4. The Subarnika, O Bakuli, is entirely dried up.
5. The prawns (nicha picha), O Bakuli, are lamenting.
6. The siripis, O Bakuli, are bewailing.
7. (The prawns) piteously lamenting (singid singid), O Bakuli,
8. (The siripis) piteously bewailing (sombod sombod), O Bakuli,

NOTE.

In this song, one bird is addressing the other. *Siripi* is a small insect which lives in shallow sandy water. The river Subarnarekha rises from a field in village Nagri. Raja band is at Tamar. The 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th lines and the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 8th are connected with one another. The 7th line

explains the 5th line, and the 8th line explains the 6th, how the prawns and siripis are bewailing their fate owing to the water being dried up.

SONG XIV.

JADUR.

1. Jojo ḍaru jhiki miki ḍaḍa mainae cherē beraḍaḍa.
2. Baṛi ḍaru jhakamaka ḍaḍa suga re়ho re়ho.
3. Nokoe nasulliae ḍaḍa mainae cherē bera.
4. Chimaē jaṭan liae ḍaḍa suga re়ho re়ho.
5. Sangim nasulliae ḍaḍa mainae chere bera.
6. Sangim jaṭanliae ḍaḍa suga re়ho re়ho.

TRANSLATION.

1. The tamarind, whose branches have spread out (jhiki miki) brother ! the maina is chirping (chiri-biri).
2. The banyan, whose boughs have spread wide (jhaka maka) brother ! the parrot is singing (re়ho re়ho).
3. Who have tamed, brother, the chirping maina ?
4. Who had taken care, brother, of the singing parrot ?
5. Thy companion had tamed, brother, the chirping maina.
6. Thy friend had taken care, brother ! of the singing parrot.

NOTE.

Dāḍa (brother) is a familiar term which means a senior brother or cousin.

SONG XV.

JADURA GENA.

1. Chikan baha bahalenam mai.
2. Baha baha soanam.
3. Chikan dandid dandid lēnam mai.
4. Dail dail singrijam.
5. Baha ṭechi numtenam.
6. Baha baha soanam.
7. Dandid ṭechi re়ap lēnam.
8. Dail dail singrijam.

TRANSLATION.

1. What flower hadst thou worn, O Girl.
2. (That) thou smellest (like) flower.
3. What ear-stick hadst thou worn, O Girl.
4. (That) thou smellest (like) ear-stick.
5. Didst thou bathe in flower.
6. (That) thou smellest (like) flower.
7. Didst thou wash thyself with ear-stick.
8. (That) thou smellest (like) ear-stick.

NOTE.

Two opposite views—one agreeable and the other repulsive—are set forth in the alternative lines. Mundari girls are fond of wearing to their hair beautiful flowers and leaves that are plentiful in the jungle. *Dandid* or *dail* is a stick usually of mall and occasionally of *makai* (maize) plants which the young women put into the holes made on the lobes of their ears.

SONG XVI.

JADUR.

1. Kuḍa buta dhodoro rē.
2. Nalorē gāngiam.
3. Reggē rabang kokorjokrē.
4. Nalorē chalniam.
5. Kuda suba dhodoro rē.
6. Rengejako menea.
7. Rengerabang kokorjamrē.
8. Teṭangako menea.

TRANSLATION.

1. To the hollow stem of Jamun * tree.
2. Do not give (a girl) in marriage.
3. To a place where hunger and cold prevail.
4. Do not give (her) in marriage.
5. In the hollow stem of Jamun tree.
6. It is said, there is hunger.
7. In a place where hunger and cold prevail.
8. It is said there is thirst (scarcity of water).

* Jamun or Eugenia Jambolana.

NOTE.

The 1st and 2nd lines :—Do not marry a girl to a man who has nothing to support her. The 3rd and 4th lines :—Do not marry a girl to a place, where she may be in want of food and clothing.

SONG XVII.

JADURA-GENA.

1. Netē raji netē nulamali.
2. Rajido dhundhurlen.
3. Nete raji nete nulamali.
4. Desado kuṇwaslen.
5. Nokoe rakablen rajido dhundhurlen.
6. Chimai nuparlen ḍesado kuṇwaslen.
7. Gatim rakablen rajido dhundhurlen.
8. Sangim nuparlen ḍesado kuṇwaslen.

TRANSLATION.

1. In this Raj, in this part, too, there is disturbance.
2. (On account of which) the country has become dim.
3. In this Raj, in this part, too, there is disturbance.
4. The country is full of fog.
5. Who has arrived (that) the country has become dim?
6. Who has come (that) the country has become foggy?
7. Thy friend has arrived (that) the country has become dim.
8. Thy companion has come (that) the country has become foggy.

NOTE.

This song was composed probably during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, or some other disturbance.

SONG XVIII.

JADUR GENA.

1. Hora rē sarjom baha ṭiṭehe ka ṭebagoa.
2. Haṭure dinda dhangoṛo mocha ṭeho kay kaklaya.
3. Tiṭehe ka tebago baṅka ho baiyaingmē.
4. Mochaṭeho kay kakfa ṭiṭehe goṭaime.
5. Nea dinda mundire ṭiṭehe ka ṭebaga.
6. Nea joṛa joṛi rē mochaṭeho kay kaklaya.

TRANSLATION.

1. On the way-side the blossom of the * Sal tree can not be reached by hand.
2. In the hamlet the maid does not speak from mouth (*i. e.*, does not open her mouth).
3. (As) it is beyond the reach of the hand (so) make a banka.
4. (As) she does not speak from mouth, (so) encircle her with hand.
5. At this (period), it is beyond the reach of hand.
6. At this similarity of (our) age, (she) does not speak from mouth.

* Sal or *shorea robusta*.

NOTE.

This is one of the most beautiful songs even in translation. Lines 1 and 2 :—As the Sal blossom is beyond the reach of one's hand, so the village girl in her bloom too is unapproachable on account of her bashfulness. Lines 3 and 4 :—As the blossom can only be reached by a stick bended on one side, so the bashful village maid can be forced to speak on embracing her.

Banka is a long bamboo stick bent at the end to pluck fruits, etc.

SONG XIX.

JADUR-GENA.

1. Nikudore mai nokoren hoçoko.
2. Nikudore mai tolo silo kapi.
3. Nikudore mai chimay ren pençray.
4. Nikudore mai Jhakal tarwar.
5. Nikudore mai Bunduren hoçoko.
6. Nikudore mai tolo silo kapi.
7. Nikudore mai Tamaç ren pençray.
8. Nikudore mai Jhakal tarwar.
9. Nikudore mai hengamra hoçoko.
10. Nikudore mai tolo silo kapi.
11. Nikudore mai napumra hoçoko.
12. Nikudore mai jhakal tarwar.

TRANSLATION.

1. These (men), O Girl, are of what place?
2. These, O Girl, some of whom have their baluas on their shoulders placed in different position?
3. The chik-weavers, O Girl, are of what place?
4. These, O Girl, with shining swords?
5. These men, O Girl, are from Bundu.
6. These, O Girl, some of whom have their baluas on their shoulders placed in different position.
7. These chik-weavers, O Girl, are from Tamar.
8. These, O Girl, with shining swords.
9. These, O Girl, are thy mother's men (acquaintances, used in good sense).
10. These, O Girl, some of whom have their baluas on their shoulders placed in different position.
11. These, O Girl, are thy father's men.
12. These, O Girl, with shining swords.

NOTE.

Kapi or Balua is a kind of spear of this shape* used by men of Tamar and Bundu, which are situated in thick jungle, infested by wild beasts. The men of these are very black and also go about with thick sticks and baluas, etc.

Chiks or chik-Baraiks are the original weavers of Chota Nagpur.

SONG XX.

JADURA-GENA.

1. Kuḍa suṛa kuḍa suṛa kuḍa suṛa gaṭimdo.
2. Baru suṛa baru suṛa baru suṛa sangimdo.
3. Kuḍa suṛa gaṭimkē ho nokorē lelia.
4. Baru suṛa sangimkeho chimarē chinhaia.
5. Kuḍa suṛa sangimkeho dadi dare lelia.
6. Baru suṛa sangimkeho kūṇwa dare chinhaia.
7. Daḍi dare leliaho dadi dare niyamtana.
8. Kūṇwa dare chinhaia ho kūṇwa dare saedtana.

TRANSLATION.

1. The young blackberry leaves, the young blackberry leaves, thy companion (like) young blackberry leaves.

2. The young maica leaves, the young maica leaves, thy friend (like) young maica leaves.
3. Where wilt thou see thy young blackberry-leaf-like companion?
4. Where wilt thou find thy young maica-leaf-like friend?
5. Thou wilt see thy young blackberry-leaf-like companion in the dadi water.
6. Thou wilt find thy young maica-leaf-like friend in the well-water.
7. It will be seen (that he) is lamenting in the dadi water.
8. It will be found (that he) is bewailing in the well water.

NOTES.

Thy young man is as fresh as the leaves of the blackberry or kusum * trees, when they first come out. Thou wilt find thy lover either by the side of a dadi or well, where he is expecting thee and bewailing his fate. *Dadi* is an excavation made in a Don land or field and enclosed with sticks or stones where village girls go to fetch water.

* Kusum or *Schliechera trijuga*.

SONG XXI.

JADURA-GENA.

1. Haṭurē haṭurē golainchi haṭurē.
2. Pirīrē pirīrē piñdarkom pirīrē.
3. Bahalena bahalena golainchi bahalena.
4. Jolena jolena piñdarkom jolena.
5. Bahakomē bahakomē golainchi bahakomē.
6. Jomkemē jomkemē piñdarkom jomkemē.

TRANSLATION.

1. In the hamlet, in the hamlet, the golainchi in the hamlet.
2. In the field, in the field, the pindarkom in the field.
3. (It) flowers, (it) flowers, the golainchi flowers.
4. (It) produces fruits, (it) produces fruits, the piñdarkom produces fruits.
5. Wear, wear, wear the golainchi flowers.
6. Eat, eat, eat the pindarkom fruits.

NOTE.

Golainchi is a kind of white flower. Pindarkom is creeper with fruits resembling small water apple.

SONG XXII.

JADURA.

1. Aingdo uma duluchi pampela.
2. Aingdo uma rajaing notanga.
3. Aingdo uma desaing apira.
4. Aingdo uma seta chi pusi.
5. Aingdo uma phada lagainga.
6. Aingdo uma gurda lagainga.
7. Aingdo uma giđi chi kuriđ.
8. Aingdo uma sođa lagainga.

TRANSLATION.

1. Am I, mother, a fly or a butterfly ?
2. Mother, I shall be wasted to another country.
3. Mother, I shall fly to another country.
4. Am I, mother, a dog or a cat ?
5. Mother, I am kicked (so that I am) tired.
6. Mother, I am fisted (so that I am) wearied.
7. Mother, am I a vulture or a kite ?
8. Mother, I am kicked (so that I am) tired.

NOTE.

This song refers to a girl's disinclination to submit to parental rule, and indirectly to suggest her desire to be sent away on marriage.

SONG XXIII.

JAPI.

1. Marang buru ḋiya sengel ;
Nē ḋiya sengel ḍo, ne ḋiya sengel ḍo.
2. Huding buru madi mađi marsal ;
Ne mađi marsal ḍo, ne mađi marsal ḍo.
3. Buru biđking ḋiya ṭađa.
Ne ḋiya sengel ḍo, ne ḋiya sengel ḍo.
4. Sangsundiking marsal ṭađa.
Ne mađi marsal ḍo, ne mađi marsal ḍo.
5. Jili mili sereng rē
Kichiri nura kuři, kichiri nura kuři.

6. Chapa chuṛi chalagirē
Gamecha sobod kora, Gamecha sobod kora.
7. Kichiri naṭuṭana
Bingeko nikirtē bingeko nikirtē.
8. Gamecha bualṭana
Tayan ko mandaltē tayan ko mandaltē.

TRANSLATION.

1. On the high hill the fire is burning
The fire is burning, the fire is burning.
2. In the low hill the dim light is
The dim light is, the dim light is.
3. The pair of hill-serpents have set fire (to them)
The fire is burning, the fire is burning.
4. The pair of low hill-snakes have set dim fire (to them)
The dim light is, the dim light is.
5. The girl is washing her clothes *Jilimili* (which is shining)
On a rock
6. A youth who is washing his clothes
On a rock.
7. The cloth is floating towards the abode of serpents
Towards the abode of snakes.
8. The male cloth * is floating
To the abode of crocodiles, to the abode of crocodiles.

NOTES.

Mundari men who alone go to hunting, sing these songs on the hills, but at home with their women folk. The above song gives an idea of the Munda worship of mountain spirits and of dreadful reptiles.

There are several *Buḍus* in Tamar and Bundu (the latter being an alien corruption of *Buḍu*). *Japis* are typical national songs of the Hoṛo people, and are seldom sung by other people. Those Mundas who live with the Uraongs or other people do not know them.

* Male cloth or a cloth worn by a male, which is only a loin cloth.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

A HISTORY OF ASSAM. By E. A. Gait, of the Indian Civil Service.
Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1906.

Border Lands are often interesting. Those about Bengal and Assam are deeply so. Sir William Hunter, in the first volume of his *Annals of Rural Bengal*, has clearly shown how genius divesting them of their technicalities and presenting the salient features which appeal to the universal human heart, can make even the description and modern annals of a small Border Tract of Bengal Proper interesting to an age of novel readers. The antiquities and early history of Birbhoom, whose foundation is lost in the cloud of traditional myths of the Romulus-Remus type, would prove attractive even in far inferior hands. The geographically extensive Border Land on the north and north-east of the great province of Bengal is in reality the most important. It is a real Political Frontier and a very long one. It is a long and more or less narrow wall which divides us from our northern neighbours ; and as it is, for the most part, naturally a weak wall overlooked and commanded by those neighbours, themselves hardly Highlanders, the character of its inhabitants, physical and moral, is of the utmost consequence to us. It means the nature of our defence on all that side. It is one of the Non-Aryan hives peopled by a variety of quasi-Mongolian, aboriginal and Aryanite tribes of every degree of mixture, and Brahman and Kshatrya colonists, and hence our most interesting Ethnic frontier. Nor is its historical importance the least of its claims to attention. From a very early time we find it the seat of kingdoms flourishing in comparative seclusion, enabled by their physical situation and characteristics to maintain their independence against the ambition of the rulers of the more extended and powerful countries below them.

As such, the publication of a connected narrative of our north-eastern Frontier Province; otherwise called Assam, contemporaneously with the commencement of a Lieutenant-

Governorship over it, by Mr. E. A. Gait of the Indian Civil Service, has come most opportunely. Though it is nearly a century since Assam has come under British sway, it is still the province whose history is least known. In 1894, Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., then officiating as Chief Commissioner of the Province, pointed out that the time had come for a sustained and systematic endeavour to rescue the historical monuments of Assam from destruction : and at his request, Mr. Gait drew up a scheme for the prosecution of historical research in the Province. As a result of this project, several copper-plates and rock inscriptions were discovered throwing considerable historical light concerning the kings who reigned in the Brahmaputra Valley between the years 800 and 1150 A.D. Besides manuscripts and family histories containing the records of the Ahom kings of Assam were discovered showing that a section of the Assamese possessed a historical faculty. These family histories, or *Buranjis* as they are called in native parlance, are written on oblong strips of bark and are carefully preserved and handed down from father to son. They are wonderfully accurate as regards their details and dates. Finding these excellent materials available for a continuous narrative of Assam, the author naturally was seized with a desire to become the historian of Assam and hence published the present work amidst harassing official duties.

The book is divided into twenty-seven chapters with four appendices. The style of the narrative is easy, and the method of the treatment of the details is not in any way cumbrous. In the absence of authentic formal history, it is quite impossible to construct an account of Assam in its early days. Hence whatever is written by the author regarding the prehistoric and traditional rulers of the Province in Chapter I has been compiled from such dubious and fragmentary references as can be found in the *Mahabharata*, the *Purans* and the *Tantras*. Besides, some general reflections have been made regarding the ancient movements of the Assamese from philological and ethnographical considerations. Chapter II begins with the account of Kamrupa as left by Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim who visited India in the seventh century A.D., and traces the history of the Province till the twelfth century

from copper-plates and rock inscriptions. In the thirteenth century Bengal was conquered by the Mahomedans, and Assam became overrun by their invasions. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they were defeated by the Ahom kings of Assam, which led to the loss of the whole of their newly conquered territory in the north-east. In Chapter IV, a history of the Koch kings has been given. In the sixteenth century these kings became very powerful. Bishya Singha, who commenced reigning in 1524 A.D., conquered Kamrup, attacked Bhutan and compelled the Debraj to pay tribute. Gour was next invaded and part of it brought under subjection. He then removed the seat of his government from the Hills (Chikangram) to Hingul-abash (Kuch Behar) in the plains, and having reigned for 31 years died in A.D. 1555 and was succeeded by his second son, Nara Narayan. He extended his kingdom on all sides from the river Dikkar, the western boundary of Kamrup or Lower Assam, to the Ganges in the east. He conquered Rungpur, and coined money, called after him "Narayani Rupees." He then defeated the King of Gour and planted his standard on the eastern banks of the Ganges. In 1563, he conquered Gowhati, Bizni and Darrang; and in 1565, rebuilt the temple of Kamakshya, where his and his brother, Sukladyaja's, effigy are still to be seen. The newly conquered countries east of the Manas were then conferred on Sukladyaja who was succeeded by Raghu Deva Narayani, whose sons, Parikshit Narayani and Belit Narayani, are the ancestors of the Rajas of Bizni and Darrang, respectively. On his return, he bestowed Panga on his elder brother, Nrisingha Narayani, and having reigned with great splendour for 30 years, breathed his last in 1588. He was the Charlemagne of this quarter, and had, of course, his Alcium in Purushottam Bhattacharya, who in A.D. 1568 prepared the Sanskrit Grammar "Ratnamala."

It was during Nara Narayan's brilliant reign that the English traveller, Ralph Fitch, visited this part of the country. He saw Sukladyaja, Nara Narayan's brother, ruling the country on behalf of his brother. It was also about this time that the Vaishnava religion of Chaitanya made a firm stand against the older form of faith which was more or less a debauched

form of Hindu *tantricism*. It is not stated by Mr. Gait why the purified Vishnuism made a favourable impression on Nara Narayan's mind so quickly. That was most probably due to the fact that Chaitanya's father, Jagannatha Misra, was an emigrant from Sylhet, and had numerous connections in Assam when he had settled at Nadiya. Naturally when his son preached a new faith he found many adherents among his own kith and kin of Assam, who most probably persuaded the reigning monarch, Nara Narayan, to adopt the new cult as his State religion. Another probable cause of Nara Narayan's acceptance of the new religion may be his marrying Kamala Priya, a niece of Sankara Deva, a great enthusiast of the Vaishnava Reformation. The spread of the new religion, to whatever cause its origin and acceptance in Assam might be due, put a salutary check on the prevalence of many debauched customs among the Assamese and helped them to a great extent to avoid a horrible and grotesque caricature of religion which had been evolved from the grafting of a degraded Hinduism on the tribal practices of the aborigines.

Chapter V describes the rise of the Ahom kings of Assam. These people had the historic sense very fully developed, and their chronicles, called *Buranjis*, contain a careful, reliable and continuous narrative of their rule. As such, the greater portion of the book under review has been devoted to the history of their reigns. Their several encounters with the Mahomedan kings of Bengal occupy Chapter VI, and the climacteric of their rule in Assam is described in the following chapter. Raja Gourinath, with whom began the decay and fall of the Ahom kingdom, first sought the aid of the English in 1792, to expel a gang of marauders from British territory. Mr. Lumsden, then Collector of Rungpur, which had become a British possession in 1765, when the whole of the Mahomedan possessions of Bengal were ceded to the East India Company in virtue of the *Dewanny Sanad*, referred the matter to Lord Cornwallis, then Governor-General of India. His Lordship directed the leaders of the gangs of marauders to return to British territory, but as they refused to obey the order, it was decided to expel them by force from the

territory of Raja Gourinath. Accordingly Captain Welsh proceeded to Goalpara to the Raja's relief and recovered Gowhati from the enemies of Raja Gourinath. When Gowhati was rescued by Captain Welsh, the sole object of his expedition was fulfilled, but as there was a serious rebellion in Upper Assam and as Raja Gourinath was totally unable to stand alone, the Ahom king placed himself unreservedly in the hands of the British Government and begged for assistance against all his enemies. When this changed programme was submitted to Lord Cornwallis for approval, the Governor-General wrote that the Raja should be made to understand that he must try to pacify his rebellious subjects by adopting conciliatory measures. But Raja Gourinath being of a vindictive disposition, failed to carry out Lord Cornwallis's order, and Captain Welsh was obliged to remain in the country to pacify the Raja's enemies and to introduce salutary reforms in its administration. In December 1793 Sir John Shore succeeded Lord Cornwallis and adopted a non-interference policy. Accordingly Captain Welsh's expedition was recalled. In this way ended the first and the earliest interference of the British Government in the affairs of Upper Assam.

In Chapter IX is given an account of the Ahom system of government, and in the next chapter is treated the history of the Kacharis. Next follows the account of the Jaintia kings. Sylhet and the Burmese war have been treated in Chapters XIII and XIV. In the former chapter, the author has entirely omitted William Makepeace Thackeray, the first British Collector of Sylhet and grandfather of the immortal English novelist. His successor, Robert Lindsay, son of the Earl of Balcarres, is mentioned as *a* Mr. Robert Lindsay. But not a word is said about his great predecessor, who, in 1772, was selected by Warren Hastings as the first "Collector" of the dangerous frontier province of Sylhet. In this great outlying angle of North-Eastern Bengal, these two men, William Makepeace Thackeray and the Hon. Robert Lindsay, are the first British administrators who left their mark and converted what had been a wild border land into a British province, and "Thackeray's House" is still pointed out by the natives after more than a century. Their rule

was a simple one. "Black tax-farmers brought the £17,000 of land tax to the treasury in the local currency of cowries, 41,000 of which equalled one pound sterling. The British head of the District shipped off to Dacca the heaped up masses of little shells or kept part of them in payment for the lime, timber, and elephants which he supplied to the Company. Such local products formed in fact a means of remitting the revenue, alike profitable to the British Resident and convenient to the Central Government. The Dacca Council asked few questions as long as the fixed amount of cowries, or their equivalent in the articles ordered for the Company, came down the river. The serious business of the Resident of Sylhet or "Collector," as he began to be called in 1772, was to hold the District against the frontier tribes and rebellious chiefs. Each autumn the hillmen burst upon the valley; if in any year they did not come, it was because the floods had already swept away the crops. Murderous affrays still took place between the Hindu and Mussalman cultivators. At the greater festivals of the rival religions, temples were sacked, cows were slain within the holy precincts, mosques were defiled, and bloody reprisals followed on both sides. It must be remembered that when Thackeray went to Sylhet in 1772, it had only been under nominal British control for six years. He found it as it was left by centuries of native rule. Two of his sources of income were the destruction of tigers and the capture of wild elephants. Thackeray's name survives as a mighty hunter of elephants. Herds of these animals roamed through the mountains and forests, at times forcing the hillmen to lodge in trees for shelter, and sallying forth to devastate the villages and crop lands of the plains. "On visiting the country where the greater part of my elephants were caught," wrote Lindsay, "I fell in with a small tribe of hill people, living more in the style of the brute creation than any I had ever met with; they are well known by the name of Kukis, and have their habitations on spreading trees to defend them from the beasts of prey. They live on wild honey and the fruits of the forest."

During Thackeray's two years in Sylhet, he continued the native system of administration, but gradually imposed on it

methods of British rule. Under the Moghuls, an agent of the Delhi treasury, always distrusted and constantly changed, had remitted the revenue to Dacca and made as much as he could by extortion during his precarious tenure of office. Village tax-farmers brought to the Emperor's intendant the quota payable by the separate village communes, as shown in the books of the village accountant and the Imperial registrar. Each of these subordinates took in his turn an allowance, and increased it as much as he dared by bribes. The native Government recognised no land owners or intermediate proprietary rights between the Imperial fisc and the actual tillers of the soil. The rural community in Sylhet consisted of two classes, the officials and the cultivators. In the early days of British rule, the system began to be humanised by appointing the revenue farmers from the chief occupiers of land. A class of *quasi*-proprietors thus grew up, with a stable interest in the good management of the District, representing the treasury demand on the one side and the actual capabilities of the rural communes on the other. In 1793 this class was sufficiently important to supply the basis of the Permanent Settlement of Sylhet. Under Thackeray and his immediate successors, a number of oppressive imposts were abolished. The armed fleet against the river pirates, for which a single division of the District had been mulcted in a tribute of forty-eight armed boats by the Moghul Governor, became a thing of the past. The District produced more revenue with less pressure upon the people. Deductions were frequently made for bad seasons and raids by the hillmen. But cultivation steadily extended, and the same area which sent £16,704 to the Moghul Emperor in 1765, yielded £27,372 to the British Government in 1792. The land tax continued to be paid in the shell currency of cowries till 1820. In 1774 Thackeray left Sylhet and became a third member of the Council of Dacca.

We have stated the above facts in detail as they have been totally left out by the author in his work. It is desirable that in the future edition of the book under review, the name of William Makepeace Thackeray, as well as an account of his administration of Sylhet, should be incorporated. Another

notable omission is Major James Rennell, who in 1764 was appointed a Bengal engineer by Governor Vansittart. He buried himself in the recesses of Eastern Bengal and year after year studied the great river systems in which he discovered the key to the geography of the country. He first surveyed the Brahmaputra Valley, amid dangers from river pirates, herds of trampling elephants and roaming hosts of banditti, the fierce remnants of the native armies. On one occasion, Rennell saved himself from the spring of a leopard by thrusting a bayonet down its throat. In 1766 while surveying the North-Eastern Province he had been literally cut to pieces by a band of marauders 800 strong. Having routed them in a pitched battle, he came unexpectedly upon them again the next morning with an escort too weak for defence. One sabre stroke cut his right shoulder blade through, and laid him open for nearly a foot down the back, cutting through or wounding several of his ribs. A second slashed his left elbow; a third pierced the arm, a fourth came down on his hand depriving him for ever of the use of a forefinger, besides lesser thrusts and hacks. In this mangled state he had to be rowed down three hundred miles in a country boat to the nearest surgeon at Dacca, with such cataplasms of leaves and onions as the anxious affection of his native servants could devise for his wounds. After hanging for months between life and death, he recovered to find himself promoted by Lord Clive to be Captain of Engineers and Surveyor-General of Bengal at the age of twenty-four. The name of the first Surveyor-General of Bengal who took infinite pains to open up the great river systems of East Bengal and Assam should be honourably mentioned in the history of Assam.

The history of the consolidation of British rule in Assam is told in Chapter XV. In 1823 the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley was taken under the direct control of the English Government and David Scott was appointed Agent to the Governor-General. In 1827 he felt the expediency of opening direct communication between the Brahmaputra Valley and that of the Surma, and the preparation of a road *via* Nungklow to the Surma Valley was decided upon. While the

road-making was progressing, a serious attack was made by the Khasias on the Nungklow bungalow in which two young military officers were killed. As Mr. Gait has not fully described the circumstances in which they fell victims to the assassin's sword, we give a full history of the pathetic tale in which two promising lads were massacred.

Lieutenant Philip Bowles Burlton, one of the victims, arrived in Calcutta about the end of the year 1821 and was placed at Dum-Dum, where the Bengal Artillery was then permanently cantoned. Being of a frank and manly disposition, he was a general favourite both with officers and civilians alike. On a certain public occasion, he invited James Silk Buckingham, then editor of the violent *Calcutta Journal*, to the gunners' mess without the slightest reference to his political creed, but merely as a friend and a guest. This was very unpalatable to the Commandant of the Corps, Major-General Hardwick, an uncompromising opponent of Buckingham and his principles. He adopted drastic measures to purge the mess room of the pollution it sustained by the objectionable presence of the dreaded editor, an obnoxious guest. With this object in view, several meetings were convened, and sundry resolutions proposed, the sole end and purport of which were to blackball the journalist from the regimental mess. "The young, liberal and independent spirits" (chief among whom was Lieutenant Burlton), says a contemporary writer, "fought manfully in opposition to the propositions tendered for their acceptance, and asserted with an honest frankness their perfect right to invite to their mess any gentleman of their acquaintance of irreproachable private character, let his politics be what they might." This helped to add fuel to the fire already raging, and the two principal leaders of the independent party, Lieutenant Burlton, and his bosom friend Lieutenant Wiggins, were selected for punishment. The former was sent to the "penal settlement" of Gowhati in the pestilential marshes of the recently-acquired province of Assam, and the latter to Agra. It was a welcome change to Burlton, however unpleasant its cause. In a short time, the First Burmese War broke out, and Burlton had opportunities of distinguishing

himself, being honourably mentioned in despatches. At its conclusion, his abilities had more extended scope in a direction more genial to his taste for adventure than mere fighting an enemy. He was engaged in the difficult and arduous task of solving the problems of the sources of the Brahmaputra and the Irrawaddy, knotty questions on which the *savants* of Europe were very much divided in opinion and which are shrouded in doubt and mystery even to this day, besides enriching the scanty knowledge of the geography of the country lying to the north of Assam. Constant exposure to a deleterious climate brought on its inevitable consequences, severe indisposition and a breaking up of the constitution. To recruit his health he took leave, and accompanied by Lieutenant Beddingfield, a comrade also of the Artillery, proceeded to the newly established sanitarium of Nungklow, ten miles from Gowhati. The following graphic description of the sad affair which terminated the career of these two promising young officers is contributed by a correspondent shortly after the occurrence :—
" All of a sudden four or five hundred Khasias and Garrows surrounded the house and poor Beddingfield went out amongst them unarmed to see what they wanted. They immediately seized him, and after tying his hands behind his back, and cutting the tendons of his legs commenced shooting at him with their arrows. It is said that he told them, if it was his life they wanted, to kill him outright, which they accordingly did, and cutting off his head planted it on the rock where a house formerly stood ; poor Burlton, upon seeing his friend's fate, defended the house, assisted by a few sepoyes of the Assam Light Infantry and his servants and held out in gallant style for a day and night until the house was set on fire, when they sallied out and made a good retreat of about ten miles from Gowhati ; and by keeping up a constant fire kept the savages off until a dreadful shower of rain coming on, wetted their ammunition and rendered their firearms of no use. The small party then dispersed, a few of those who took shelter in the jungle escaped, but Burlton and one European writer, Bowman, having both kept the pathway, were immediately massacred. The former was in the act of extracting an arrow from his wrist, when he was cut down, being in an exhausted state from the immense

exertions he had made and his previous ill-health. This happened on the 2nd and 4th of April 1829. On the 25th of May following, an Assistant Surgeon, H. Beadon, who was a dear friend of the murdered officers, was killed in action against Suchet Singh and his myrmidons, whilst nobly avenging their death. The three bodies were laid side by side on a beautiful spot close by, named Ostrich Hill. The following pathetic allusion is made to the mournful event by the Rev. Mr. Lisle Bowles, uncle of Lieutenant Burlton and father of the "Living Poets of England," on a view of a range of ghauts in the East Indies :—" And can I look upon this sunny scene of Asia? Can I look upon those hills, the distant ghauts, and not remember him, the poor youth bound to me by dearest ties, upon whom therewith fell the murderous savages, hunted to death ! Ah, faint upon the sands he sinks ; he bleeds, his hand is on his breast, he thinks of his mother! He is dead!"

The above is the full account of a romantically tragic incident in the history of Assam, in which it should be chronicled in all its details. As a result of the above rising of the Khasias and Garrows, vigorous reprisals were undertaken. On the 9th January 1833, the ringleader, Terat Singh, surrendered himself, and general pacification took place immediately. The chiefs were allowed to retain some portion of their independence, but a Political Agent was stationed on the hills. The first Political Agent was Captain Lister of the Sylhet Light Infantry, who ruled the Sylhet hills for 20 years. On account of the unhealthy state of the country, it was thought desirable about this time to establish a sanitarium on the hills now occupied. Nungklow, which was founded by David Scott, became very unhealthy. Some advocated the claims of Mairang, while others preferred the tableland between Shillong Peak and Nongkien, and others again, a site near Serraim. The decision was eventually given in favour of Cherrapunji, mainly on the score of its accessibility from Sylhet. In 1864 this place was abandoned for Shillong. The native name for the site of this town is Yeddo, but there is another place of this name in Japan, and its founders preferred, therefore, to call it Shillong after the peak which dominates it.

The last chapter is devoted to the growth of the tea industry. In 1823 Mr. Robert Bruce learnt the existence of the tea plants from a Singpho chief who promised to obtain some specimens for him. In the following year, they were delivered to his brother, Mr. C. A. Bruce, who submitted them to David Scott, by whom they were sent to the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens for examination at Calcutta. They were pronounced to be of the same family, but not the same species, as the plant from which the Chinese tea was manufactured. Nothing further seems to have happened till 1832, when Captain Jenkins was deputed to report on the resources of Assam, and the existence of the tea plant was pressed upon his notice by Mr. C. A. Bruce. The result was that a Tea Committee, consisting of seven civilians, three Calcutta merchants and two native gentlemen, was appointed with Dr. Wallich, of the Botanical Gardens at Sibpur, as President. Mr. Gordon, its Secretary, went to China to procure plants, seeds, and persons skilled in the manufacture of tea. In 1837 he returned from China, and samples of tea, as grown in Assam, were prepared by the Chinese manufacturers brought by Mr. Gordon. In consequence of this, Mr. C. A. Bruce was appointed Superintendent of the Government Tea Forests. In 1837 Mr. Bruce packed forty-six boxes of tea, but owing to defective packing, much of it was damaged by damp before it reached Calcutta, and only a small portion was sent to England. The report received from England was encouraging. In 1840 the Assam Company was formed with a capital of half a million, and they took over Government plantations. Since then, the tea industry in Assam has grown by leaps and bounds.

Although the book has been compiled under harassing official duties, it cannot be said to be defective or unsuccessful. It contains a tolerably fair historical account of Assam, in which the author has aimed at giving as much information about the past days of Assam as is possible under the present circumstances. We therefore congratulate the author on the production of this work, which we have every reason to believe will be made more useful and informing in the edition to come. There is ample room for improvements, some of which we have pointed out above.

WESTERN CULTURE IN EASTERN LANDS, A COMPARISON OF THE METHODS ADOPTED BY ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE MIDDLE EAST. By Arminius Vambery, C.V.O., Author of "Travels in Central Asia," "History of Bokhara," etc. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, W. 1906.

In his seventieth year, Arminius Vambery, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Buda Pest, Vienna, has given to the world his mature views on what England and Russia have respectively done in their spheres of influence in Asia, towards civilising or Europeanising those people who are now living under their thralldom. In discharging this work, great and difficult as it is, the Professor has tried not only to defend himself against the charge of being prepossessed against Russia and partial to England, but also to disillusionise Europe of the prevailing idea that the Russians, being semi-Asiatic in thought, culture and civilisation, are more fitted than England to undertake the cultural transformation of the Asiatics. "To prove the erroneousness of this view and to defend myself against the accusation of an unjustifiable partiality, these pages have been written." But we regret to say, too late. For over half a century, Professor Vambery is persistently writing against Russian aims and aspirations in Central Asia, and his well-known Cassandra notes have got so much circulation throughout the world that Humanity is more than convinced of the fact that he is a great *dushman* of the Russian people. To explode such a conviction now is an impossible task. His views on Russian affairs in Central Asia are too well known, and in the book under review, the same are repeated with emphasis and are held in comparison with those which he himself believes to be the achievements of England in India. Hitherto before his literary work was chiefly confined to those countries of which he had some personal knowledge or with whose past history he had acquired some special familiarity, and, as such, was regarded not only reliable but valuable in many respects. But in his present work, he has tried to write upon a country which he himself has never seen or whose history he has not read with sufficient care. Hence his conclusions regarding England's work in

India are more or less overdrawn, not warranted by the data upon which he has sought to draw his inference.

The book is divided into three parts—Part I is devoted to what Russia has done in Central Asia, Part II to what England has done in India, and Part III to an altogether different topic, the Future of Islam. In writing upon Western influence in the East in Chapter I of Part I, Professor Vambéry has given in a nutshell what he believes to be the mainspring of England's and Russia's activities in the East. He thus says:—"If the English poet, Mathew Arnold, was right when he sang—

The East bowed down before the blast
In patient, deep disdain ;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again,

our present day Europe, in its restless bustling activity will take good care not to let the East relapse again into its former indolence. We forcibly tear its eyes open ; we push, jolt, toss and shake it, and we compel it to exchange its world-worn, hereditary ideas and customs for our modern views of life ; nay, we have even succeeded to some extent in convincing our Eastern neighbours that our civilisation, our faith, our customs, our philosophy, are the only means whereby the well-being, the progress, the happiness, of the human race can be secured."

In the above passage, lies the initial blunder which has vitiated the whole reasoning of the book—in fact, the total misconception of the duty which the author has sought to discharge by writing the book. We have already said that Professor Vambéry has totally failed to grasp the trend of transformation which is taking place in the East owing to its contact with the West. The Asiatics never believe that European civilisation, European faith, European customs and European philosophy are the only means of acquiring happiness and prosperity in life. On the other hand, they have come to believe by comparing the two systems of civilisation, Asiatic and European, that their world-worn, hereditary ideas of religion, philosophy, social duties and morality, are far more conducive to real happiness and peace of mind than what

their brethren of the West possess. Hence under the influence of Western culture, an Asiatic would never exchange his religion for the light of Christianity; would never alter his moral code for becoming pitiful and forgiving and would never raise his standard of comfort for becoming happy in the European sense of the word. Neither Russia in Central Asia nor England in India, has been able to convince the natives that the political supremacy which they have got over them, is due to the superior quality of their civilisation, their faith, their customs and their philosophy; Russia and England have not achieved success in that way even to some extent. On the other hand, the brilliant success of Japan over the greatest of European Powers has most unmistakeably shown that Asiatic civilisation, Asiatic faith, Asiatic customs and Asiatic philosophy are no hindrances to the progress of a nation along the line of modern culture, provided it can carefully manipulate and assimilate the Western methods of political organisation, organise its military on Western models and systematise its commercial activity along the European principles. Hence Japan, without in the least ceasing to be Asiatic, without changing their civilisation, without changing their religion, without changing their customs, and without changing their philosophy, has developed an unexpected energy which clearly shows that cultural transformation of a nation does not necessarily connote a change in its ideas of civilisation, faith, philosophy and customs. Hence if by cultural transformation in Asia, Professor Vambéry means only what he has stated in the passage quoted above, he must be said to have had no idea of what is taking place among the Asiatics in virtue of their contact with the West.

Western culture in India and elsewhere is slowly and steadily convincing the Asiatics that in order to secure political ascendancy, military power and commercial success, they must exchange their world-worn ideas on these matters for those of Europe on the same. That is, they must carry on their educational, political, military and commercial activities on modern scientific European ways. That is what we believe to be the results of the cultural transformation as effected in

their respective spheres by England and Russia, and in order to investigate how far the natives have been able to assimilate Western political thoughts and imbibe European intellectual attainments after coming under the influence of Western culture, one must be provided with a history of the efforts made by England and Russia for securing to the natives the advantages of modern European institutions. If that history can be correctly written, it would clearly show what advantages the Eastern people have derived from the interference of the Europeans in their affairs. Instead of seeing that, if we merely try to see how far the Eastern people have succeeded in changing their civilisation, their faith, their religion, their customs and their philosophy for those of the Europeans and consider these as the effects of Western culture in Eastern lands, it would be extremely difficult for us to give sufficient specimens of such changes among the natives. Scarcely ten in a million would be found among the natives who for securing "happiness, well-being and progress of the human race," have changed their religion, customs, civilisation and philosophy for those of their Western neighbours. Hence weighed in that scale, Western culture in Eastern lands is bound to show most sorry and deplorable results, and as much, must be regarded as dead failure.

Written with inadequate knowledge and with no definite conception of the changes that are taking place in India and Central Asia in virtue of their being under the subjugation of Russia and England, Professor Vambéry devotes a large portion of the book to the description of the wars, offensive and defensive, undertaken by Russia and England to conquer Turkistan and India respectively. In this work of conquest, Professor Vambéry finds Russia to be wholly impelled by motives of self-aggrandisement and territorial expansion, and England to be wholly free from such ignoble ideas. "Knowing something of the extraordinary difficulties which Clive and Hastings had to deal with, and estimating them at their true value, we cannot fail to see that the tenacious perseverance and stubborn strength of the English character formed the chief factor which eventually brought about the realisation of that

marvellous scheme—the establishment of the Indian Empire. In this respect I cannot agree with Professor Seeley, who maintains that the acquisition of India was a blind speculation, and that, of the exploits ever achieved by the English, nothing has been more unintentional and accidental than the conquest of India." The question of how and why the English had come to acquire sovereignty over India is quite foreign to the present occasion, and as great philosophers and historians are at variance in their opinion on the issue, it is better to leave it undiscussed here with only giving the reader what our author thinks of the matter.

Coming to the subject-matter of the book—that is, what are the methods adopted by Russia and England to train the natives of Turkistan and India in Western institutions, and how far the natives have been able to utilise those institutions for their well-being, we regret to say, we do not find a very satisfactory treatment of the questions. Regarding the "cultural" efforts of Russia in Turkistan and Kirghis Steppe, we are told that as early as 1859, Lieutenant-General Glukhoff had suggested that schools should be built in which the nomad children could receive tuition in the elementary subjects in the Kirghis tongue. But as the natives were violently prejudiced against all seminaries of Russian undertaking, it was decided to allow these institutions to be superintended by the natives and to be carried on strictly on Moslem ritualistic principles. The first school of this kind was opened in 1863, and since then, in spite of the strenuous exertions of the Russian authorities, only sixty-three Kirghis have studied in these institutions. Hence still the cultural efforts of Russia in Kirghis Steppe are not in any way hopeful. Leaving Kirghis Steppe and coming down to Turkistan, Western culture does not show any more bright aspect. It is true that since coming under Russian sway, many cruel practices have been suppressed; the native laws have been improved; police arrangements have been made, and the freedom, the security and the facilities of trade and traffic have been made available to the Turkistanis, but practically nothing has been done by the Russian Government

to enlighten the natives with Western knowledge and culture. On the other hand, the evils of Western institutions have taken a firm hold over them. Before Russian conquest, alcohol and prostitution were unknown things in Central Asia, but now they have assumed terrible dimensions. Half a century ago, brandy was never heard of in Turkistan, and wine was only found among the Jews, who made it for ritualistic purposes. To-day brandy distilleries abound. According to an official report, the import of spirits in one year is 308,924 firkins, the export 75,327 firkins. That the Mahomedans assist in the consumption has been confirmed by several travellers, who state that the Kirghis are particularly partial to the Russian national beverage. But more surprising even than the spread of alcohol is the increased prevalence of prostitution. In older times this vice was punished by death, but now under the protection of the Russian Government, it has free course. Frederick Duckmeyer writes :—"In the place of Koknar (opium) we find beer and brandy, and immoral intercourse is greatly encouraged by the numerous modern Bordelles. At festive times not a few followers of Mohammed get drunk on brandy and beer (wine is not so much in favour); they go reeling and shouting through the streets, visit bad houses, misbehave themselves in every way, and generally finish up the festival with a day or two in the police station." The Russified Kirghis Nalivkin says that the public houses are patronised not only by the Russians, but also by the Sarts, and preferably in the sacred month of Ramzan. With the advent of the Russians, prostitution has entered, and has spread rapidly, even in the family circle.

Professor Vambéry recounts the above and much more to show the result of Western culture in Turkistan. Certainly the object of all this is to discredit Russia as a civiliser of Turkistan and to depict her as utterly unfit for becoming a successful civiliser of the Asiatic people. With no less object in view he writes :—"The corruption of the Russian officials, which cannot be too severely censured, will naturally not be noticed so much by passing tourists, but it is all the more realised by those Europeans who have been appointed by Russia

to some office in Turkistan, and who see with their own eyes the rotten condition of things there. Indeed, the picture they disclose makes one shudder; it is disgusting in every detail. A rich merchant of the name of Ivanoff held for a long time several high-placed Turkistan officials at his mercy. The postmaster had for many years lived in his house without any rent, and even General Chernayeff was amongst his debtors. Colonel Yanoff, the leader in the first Pamir Expedition, had in the exercise of his office incurred a debt of 40,000 marks (£2,000); Major Gerasimoff, the former Commander of Kuldja, spent every year on champagne alone twice the amount of his pay. Others, again, fell victims to gambling at cards—in short, the extravagance and the licentiousness of the Russian officials in Turkistan defies all description; and this side of the Russian character is certainly not calculated to set a good example to the natives, especially as, in most cases, the natives have to pay for it. We are justified then in asking:—"Are these the qualities which are likely to attract the Asiatics towards their Russian masters, and is it by such means as these that civilisation will be more readily accepted than through the medium of other European Powers?" Regarding the educational movement in Turkistan, we are told that of the 5,260,000 natives, only 2,427 attend the schools. During the last ten years, that is, from 1893 to 1903, the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction has spared no expense and has spent 3,432,000 roubles on education, excluding local contributions. All that has been done so far to advance the education of the Turkistanis must be attributed either to the pressure of the authorities or to the allurements of material gain. In summing up the result of Russian influence in Central Asia, the author says:—"Judging dispassionately and without prejudice, we must frankly acknowledge that the Russians have done much good work in Asia, that with their advent, order, peace and security have taken the place of anarchy and lawlessness, and that, notwithstanding the strongly oriental colouring of their political, social, and ecclesiastical institutions as representatives of the Western world, they have everywhere made a change for the better, and inaugurated

an era more worthy of humanity. But we must not lose sight of the fact that it is Russia in particular which, as far as its own culture is concerned, has not by a long way reached that stage of perfection which would enable it to take its stand as the representative of the true, genuine spirit of modern advancement. Russian culture is only half European, and still half Asiatic, and although modern Russia has produced a few great personalities, yet, taken as a whole, its education is half finished and not matured enough to make it the successful civiliser of other entirely or semi-barbaric societies." Hence the erroneousness of the view that Russia being semi-educated and semi-Asiatic is better qualified to undertake the civilisation of the Asiatic people.

With the results above summarised Professor Vambéry compares what England has done in India for educating the people, and enlightening them with Western institutions. Of course the cultural transformation that has taken place in India is far more brilliant and hopeful than that achieved in Central Asia. No one can gainsay the fact that coming under England's sway the people of India have learned to reap the benefits of western institutions with amazing rapidity. But two things must be clearly held in view when comparing the works as done by England and Russia in their respective spheres. Russia has come to acquire Central Asia not more than half a century ago, while India has come under England's sway more than a century. This periodicity has been entirely overlooked by our author. Another and the greater fact has reference to the mental or intellectual condition of the two peoples, Indians and Turkistanis. The essential condition of the cultural transformation of a people is their mental pliability or flexibility. When England brought the influence of Western culture to bear upon the Indians, the latter were remarkable for their intellectual attainments. They were ready intellectually to absorb Western ideas and help England in its work of cultural transformation. Indeed, the seeds of Western culture were sown upon a most fertile soil by England, hence the fruits have been plentiful and abundant. In this productivity, the credit belongs more to the people of India than to their English

rulers. The first great English school which sought to impart English education to the people of Bengal was set up by the natives themselves and not by their English rulers ; after them came the Missionaries. It is a well-known fact that the East India Company strenuously opposed the education of the natives on Western lines in fear of losing their Indian Empire. Hence it is unjust to say that the English rulers first encouraged the natives to utilise Western education for their welfare. The institutions—Benares College and Calcutta Madrassah—which were set up by Warren Hastings about the end of the eighteenth century did not, in the least, seek to impart English education to the natives ; they were purely sectarian institutions for the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic only. As the Indian Empire has come to be acquired by the English without any definite plan and aim, so the wonderful cultural transformation that has taken place in India has come into being without any great attempt and expense on their part. It is the natives who have exerted most to acquire the benefits of Western culture, and even now, it is they who own, manage and superintend a far larger number of Western institutions—schools, libraries, newspapers, —than those of their English rulers. Instead of supporting the growth of the Press in India, the East India Company did their level best to suppress it. Who does not know the early history of the Indian Press, full of vicissitudes, deportations, suppressions and ignominious interferences ? The Indian Press have grown up against the wishes of the English rulers of India : and the Indian education and enlightenment have sprung up and solidified in spite of the vigorous oppositions of the Anglo-Indian rulers. There is no denying these patent facts. Hence if anyone try to give all the credit of the intellectual transformation as effected among the Indians to their English rulers, and make them solely responsible for the change, he is wholly mistaken.

Physically and mentally Central Asia is a desert, an absolutely barren soil. Who can expect that in such a soil the seeds of Western culture will produce a satisfactory harvest ? The dead orthodoxy of the Turkistanis has hermetically sealed them from the imbibing of any Western innovations and has

practically robbed them of all mental flexibility—the condition *sine qua non* of cultural transformation. Hence what is done by Russia either through pressure or through allurements of material gain within a comparably very short period of not more than forty years, should not lead an impartial observer to find fault with the methods adopted by Russia to civilise the people of Central Asia. If the latter do not wish to imbibe Western culture in spite of Russia's greatest endeavours who is to be blamed? When there is nothing wanting in Russia's endeavours to educate the people and when there is everything wanting among the people themselves to be educated, is it wise and reasonable to tell the world that Russia being "semi-Asiatic and semi-educated" is not fit to undertake the cultural transformation of the Asiatic people? Is it reason or is it partisanship? The particular faults for which Professor Vambéry takes the Russian officials to task and describes them to be unfit for training the natives of Central Asia are not uncommon among Anglo-Indian officials whom he sees and describes as patterns of statesmanship and modern culture.

The same reason which has practically frustrated the cultural work of the Russians in Central India, has to a great extent hindered the Indian Mahomedans from participating in the blessings of Western institutions. While the Hindus of India have shown remarkable aptitude for Western innovations and have accepted English education for their material welfare, their Mussalman compatriots on account of their orthodoxy, have remained aloof from all European modernisations. Mental inflexibility is the chief cause of the Mahomedans remaining backward at the present time. For one hundred and fifty years, they have come under the influence of the English, and in spite of the latter's great partiality towards their Mahomedan subjects and heavy expenses for the education of Mahomedan youths, what is the result? Not even five per cent. of the total Mahomedan population of India attends schools and colleges. Compare this with what is achieved by Russia in course of half a century? Which is hopeful, pray? It is true that among Indian Mussalmans, there have appeared a dozen or more enlightened and public-spirited men

who had been remarkable for their education, breadth of views and culture ; but that does not prove that the educational status of the Indian Mahomedans is more hopeful and promising than that of their co-religionists in Central Asia. The Aligarh College, in the existence of which the English people take great pride, does not owe its existence to the exertions of the Anglo-Indian rulers. It owes its being to the energy of Sir Syed Ahmed, a Mahomedan who did not know even the alphabet of the English tongue. Even now it is managed and controlled and financed by a Board of Trustees who are all Mahomedans. In Central Asia, too, under the influence of Western culture, a number of great men has arisen, whom Professor Vambéry styles as "semi-civilised." They, too, are remarkable for their culture, breadth of views and patriotism. Hence the cultural transformation of the Mahomedans either under English influence in India or under Russian influence in Central Asia, does not show very many points of difference ; on the other hand, judging impartially, the result must be regarded as equal in value.

In the concluding chapter, Professor Vambéry writes on the Future of Islam—a subject still more difficult and momentous. Here we find the learned Professor indulging in visions. Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, the three independent Mahomedan Powers, are the themes of his conjectures. In all of these, he does not find any sign of future progress, and hence he predicts their political annihilation sooner or later. "I am not pursuing a chimera when I maintain that the future of Turkey in Asia lies not so much in the hands of Turkey as of Europe. The fate of Persia lies at present in the hands of England and Russia ; the end must be inevitably a partition of the land between these two Powers to suit their several spheres of interest. It is equally certain that the Afghans will have to yield before one or the other of their powerful adversaries and sooner or later lose their political independence." Such are the results of the Professor's mature opinions. Prophesies such as these are very easy to be indulged in, amidst the quiet of the banks of the Danube, but they do incalculable harm to those at whose expense they are written and proclaimed.

Political annihilation of a nation has never become an accomplished fact and will never become so in the time to come. In writing this book Professor Vambéry has taken a mistaken step. Still his lucidly written imaginings, which remind us of the grandfather's tales, are a delightful reading. We have read the work with great interest, without in the least being influenced by his opinions, which to us appear to be greatly overdrawn and exaggerated. We have failed to see wherein lies the value of the book, as in it all objective standpoints have been allowed to be replaced by theoretical propositions. In the modern matter-of-fact world, such books, full of conjectures, overdrawn conclusions and imaginings, are out of place.

HERE AND THERE, MEMORIES INDIAN AND OTHER. By H. G. Keene, C. I. E., author of "A Servant of John Company," "Sketches in Indian Ink," etc. London : Brown, Langham and Company, 78, New Bond Street, W. 1906.

Of the few distinguished Haileyburians who are still surviving, Henry George Keene is one. Son of a distinguished Anglo-Indian, himself a distinguished man, H. G. Keene is a prolific writer on Oriental subjects. He has written much to establish his claim as one of the authorities on Indian history, and his auto-biographies show that he has a keen insight into human affairs. Some years ago he delighted his readers by publishing an account of his Indian career in a book called "A Servant of John Company." "Here and There" is only a supplementary publication to his former work with an additional part containing reminiscences of men and things in England as observed after an exile of thirty-five years. In the prefatory note, which is rather large and long, he tells us that his object in publishing the present work is social rather than political, the storing of the flotsam and jetsam of tradition rather than of the solemn facts of history. It is needless to say that in fulfilling the object Mr. Keene has truly given us many hitherto unknown facts of Indian life as experienced by him.

Being a "chip of the old block"—a Haileyburian by birth and adoption, Mr. Keene naturally feels a leaning towards the method by which the Great Corporation used to select or recruit their Indian Civil Servants, that is, by nomination. In the Prefatory Notes, he writes a defence of the old method in the following manner:—"Being for the most part men of good family, accustomed from their boyhood to hunt and shoot, to rule stable boys and manage gamekeepers, they brought to their duties just sufficient intelligence to enable them to put healthy vigour into routine work and to rule men by personal influence. When the great storm (Sepoy Mutiny) broke upon Upper India, it found a body of brave and simple-hearted gentlemen not unprepared to cope with it. How far the present system of appointment by competitive examination is an ideal fulfilment of that duty (of Britain to provide for axes and razors in the Indian service) may be a subject of inquiry: objections have been brought against it, and it does not appear to find favour with other nations having colonies to administer beyond sea. It has certainly raised the level of the average officers, and has probably rendered impossible the recurrence of what has been above designated as 'hard bargains.' But it may be urged against it that very success involves a difficulty; for the uniform training prepares men cast in one mould to be subsequently further assimilated by the pressure of a highly organised system. Originality may be thus repressed, yet it cannot be altogether destroyed; the half-century of appointment by competitive examination may neither have produced so many great scholars and administrators as the period between Elphinstone and Sir Alfred Lyall; but the fact that it produces men so distinguished yet so diverse as Hunter and Burnell, Sir Antony Macdonnell and Sir Mortimer Durand, is sufficient testimony to the elasticity of human nature."

In the first two chapters on old Haileybury an attempt is made to defend its existence and to give the reader an idea of the manner in which the College used to benefit its students. The author's father joined it in 1824 as Professor of Arabic and there the present writer, Mr. H. G. Keene, was born. In 1834 his father retired from Haileybury. During this interval, John

Lawrence obtained his nomination and was a student of the College. Mr. Keene states he was one of the most careless of the students of that time. Our author joined Haileybury College as a student in 1844 and remained there for three years. Thus twice in his life he lived at Haileybury—as a boy and as a student. During these two periods he came to know some of its renowned Principals and Professors about whom he writes in his present volume many interesting anecdotes. The pranks and peccadilloes of his early boyhood as well as those of his comrades at Haileybury are given in full details to show how the distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators in embryo lived, moved and had their being in the training college, and how far their associations imparted a beneficial corporate spirit to them as a whole. The Haileybury College was chiefly maintained for creating a healthy *esprit de corps* among the Indian administrators and for establishing traditions of honourable duty among them. Besides these, Haileybury was an ideal place of education, and in comparison with other institutions, was rather a lath-and-plaster Temple of the Muses. Hence old Haileybury was an excellent institution for the training of the Governors of men. In concluding the second chapter, the author says:—"Competition has probably raised the general level of knowledge; it has not yet produced better scholars than Brian Hodgson or better statesman than John Lawrence."

In the next two chapters on "London and Oxford" Mr. Keene gives us a glimpse of the old London life and that which was led by Anglo-Indians in Bengal. In October 1847 he landed in Calcutta and found Lord Hardinge received there with a sort of Roman triumph, the captured Sikh guns—256 in number—being paraded on the *maidan*, and a warm address of congratulation offered by the community (Native and European), culminating ultimately in the erection of a fine statue. Of some curious customs prevalent in the Anglo-Indian social life of that time, the author mentions only tobacco smoking and the taking of wine. Tobacco ceremonial was practised universally in Bengal when Mr. Keene entered the Indian Civil Service. The manner of it was this; after

the ladies left the dinner-room, if not before, each man was provided (by a special attendant) with a silver mouthpiece in a bowl of perfumed water, a strip of carpet being laid behind the chair, on which was placed the crystal vase containing the water through which the smoke was to pass and be inhaled in a cool condition. In the top of this vase was placed the bowl containing the *chillum*, a paste of tobacco and conserve; a glowing ball of ignited charcoal was laid on this, and the end of the "snake" at the same time introduced under the right hand arm of your chair. You then inserted the mouthpiece, and in another minute the room was full of gurgling sound as of camels protesting against their loads. Such was the solemnity witnessed after every Anglo-Indian dinner; to which it remains to add that it was a deadly affront to step over that portion of the snake which lay upon the carpet. The other social function of the day was the taking of wine with one another—confined in England to mess-rooms and practised between persons near enough to catch one another's eye. In India, however, it would sometimes happen that a guest at one end of a long table wished to exchange greetings with a friend at the other whom he knew to be present even if he could barely see him. It even happened occasionally that the parties had quarrelled and one, or both, desired to renew amiable relations. In all such cases the man making the overture would send his servant round to the other with the message "So-and-so sends compliments" (*Sahib salaam deta*), on which the recipient was expected to lean forward and "look towards you," each raising his glass and making a bow over it at the same moment.

In the fifth chapter the author describes "Moffusil Life" of the Indian civilians "before the Mutiny" and accounts for the tension of feeling between those who always lived at the metropolis within the charmed circle of high officials and those who resided in the moffusil far away from the enjoyments of the capital city. Between these two classes of the Indian civilians there was a chronic mistrust amounting to hostility. For the "Mofussilite"—as the Indian civilian residing in the mofussil was called—the headquarter man—or the Secretariat man as we now call him—felt a suspicion not unblended with a

tendency to take him for granted until you could trip him up; whilst he, on the other hand, regarded his fortunate colleague with envy, perhaps tending towards insubordination. Lord Metcalfe denounced the "favoured few" in general as a dominant caste of which the suppression was essential to the wellbeing of the Empire. This antagonism had found voice towards the end of the Bentinck period (in 1835) in the pages of the *Meerut Universal Magazine*, whose affectionately shortened title was "M. U. M." a monthly periodical set going by an officer of the 11th Hussars named Tuckett, and supported by two very able young civilians, H. Torrens and H. M. Elliott, who were then serving at Meerut. It was the postulate and position of the provincial staff of those days that its members passed their lives in correcting the blunders of the departmental chiefs at Calcutta whom they pictured as over-paid bureaucrats wallowing in a pool of selfish ignorance and imbecility. The above state of feeling which existed before the Mutiny could not be said to have come to an end when the Company was succeeded by the Crown. At the present time the same sort of feeling exists between the "favourite few," who always enjoy the loaves and fishes of the Secretariat offices at Head-quarters, and those who live in the mofussil amidst malarious attacks and thousand other difficulties incidental to mofussil life. In fact, the Secretariat "caste" of Lord Metcalfe has degenerated now-a-days into a Secretariat "clique" who always keep in the mofussil those members of the Indian Civil Service whom they do not like. The fate of mofussil civilians is entirely at their disposal; and if a particular member is unable to see eye to eye with one of the Secretariat leaguers, he is sure to be punished with as many transfers as the regulations of the Service permit. Many distinguished civilians have already fallen victims to the intrigues of the "Secretariat clique" owing to their inability to pull on well with the departmental chiefs.

Mr. Keene gives us the following particulars in the briefest of leaderettes that ever appeared in an Indian newspaper. "It was in those days that the memorable one line leader appeared, of which something has been said elsewhere—

'The Gorham case; damn the Gorham case.' The Gorham case is well nigh forgotten now; but it made a stir about the year 1850, and the commotion became perceptible all through the Empire, being indeed a distinct but connected outcome of the Anglo-Catholic movement. The 'case' arose out of a controversy on baptismal regeneration, a subject unlikely to possess the least interest for Mr. Lang (Editor of the *Mofussilite*); and in the book cited above (the author's 'A Servant of John Company') a rumour was mentioned assigning the credit—or debit—of the contemptuously laconic editorial to W. F. Courtenay, Private Secretary to Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of India. Since the publication of my former work, another account has come to notice, according to which the briefest of leaderettes had its origin in a private note addressed by the Editor to Mr. Gibbons, (his printer) at the Meerut office, enclosing or including a second note from an impatient Simla friend to whom Lang had applied for an article on the question of the day, and whose want of leisure or inclination took this familiar form. And Gibbons—always according to this version—being in urgent need of copy, and rightly gauging the taste of his public, printed the curt comment as a leading article. Certainly there was nothing in the relations existing at the time between Lang and Courtenay to forbid conjecture that the latter was the writer, though he may have no idea that his somewhat petulant refusal would be itself turned into a contribution. In any case, the readers of the *Mofussilite* applauded it as being a consummate sample of the editor's genius; and the applause presently developed into gaping admiration of the ensuing apology. This explanation ended with words to the following effect: 'We have been requested to take this opportunity of announcing that the notice of the Gorham case was not from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Quarthy, the respected Chaplain of Simla.'

On the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, Mr. Keene went to Allahabad and shared in the inception of a newspaper there, which may be noted as an attempt to inaugurate the changed system of the Indian Empire. The old Company with all its faults and merits had been abolished by an Act which obtained

the Royal sanction on 2nd August 1858. A few individuals, of whom the most distinguished was Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., father of the Indian National Congress, bethought themselves of forming a small syndicate to conduct a journal in the Provinces, under the ambitious title of *The New Times for all India*. The editorial chair was assigned to Mr. Sydney Leonan (not Laman as Mr. Keene writes) Blanchard, a London *litterateur*, son of the Blanchard who married the daughter of Douglas Jerrold and was much befriended by the first Lord Lytton. Mr. Blanchard was editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru* of Calcutta before he went to Allahabad for taking the editorial charge of *The New Times*. Mr. Keene's own contribution included a light serial, on the lines of "Humphry Clinker," to which he gave the name of "The Simpkiners in India," it being intended to describe Anglo-Indian life as seen by a Cockney family who had come out to settle on a tea plantation. The paper, however, soon collapsed; but Blanchard finished his serial and published it with some papers of his own, in a two-volume book entitled "The Ganges and the Seine."

As a judge of Agra our author made the acquaintance of many distinguished visitors such as the Duke of Buckingham, Vasilli Vereschatgin, the great Russian War painter, President Grant of the United States and others. From Agra he retired in 1882. In the last chapter of Part I he institutes a comparison between the Moghul and English methods of administration and discusses the problem—How far an Alien Yoke is conducive to the welfare of the Indian people. The question will ever remain debatable. But as Mr. Keene's treatment of the question is warranted by some undoubted facts of Indian history, these appears to have something original in it. In the first place, he tells us what was the object of the Anglo-Indian fathers by whom the British Empire in India was founded. "In their eyes," he says, "the sceptre of the sovereign was the schoolmaster, and, there was in their minds a clear perception that whenever the schoolmaster's work was done, pupils would be set free to live their own life. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the famous historian of Mahomedan India, was Governor of Bombay during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and

was in constant communication with other great Anglo-Indians of the time—Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro and Sir James Mackintosh—and in a letter to the latter of June, 1819, he thus expressed his ideas:—‘I am afraid the belief that our Indian Empire will not be long-lived is reason and not prejudice. It is difficult to guess the death it may die, but if it escapes the Russian and other foreign attacks, I think the seeds of its ruin will be found in the Native army—a delicate and dangerous machine which a little mismanagement may easily turn against us. The most desirable death for us to die of should be the improvement of the native reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for a foreign nation to retain the Government; but this seems at an immeasurable distance.’ In the next place, he shows the advantages which the Indian people have derived from the English Rule, and concludes by saying that the ‘alien yoke’ presses lightly on the Indians and is not one of which it can be their present interest to be rid.”

The second part contains extracts from the diaries kept by the author in his retired life. As a member of the Atheneum Club, he had frequent opportunities of feeling the pulse of public affairs in conversation with distinguished men of the time. These extracts are remarkably informing. In going through them, one’s memory is refreshed with many forgotten events of English political life. In every respect Mr. Keene’s diary notes are valuable. In writing such a book and in allowing the public the benefit of his long and varied experiences, he has placed his Indian readers under a great obligation. But for him these forgotten incidents of Indian history would have never come to light. We have enjoyed the book very much for which we thank the author heartily and in concluding, hope that the Almighty may spare him a few years more, to delight us with another instalment of his most fascinating recollections.

**ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Annual Report, 1903-1904.
Government Printing Office, India.**

THIS beautiful work contains 72 plates, and 48 text illustrations. Mr. Marshall, in his introduction, gives a good

account of the work of his department and it is a very creditable record indeed. It is pleasing to think that a critical and expert knowledge is being lavishly expended in the restoration of India's historical and architectural glories, and in the exploration of famous sites and ruins. In this report various chapters are written by different authors, but enthusiasm and intelligence are revealed throughout all. We congratulate Mr. Marshall and his colleagues on having so signalized vindicated the foresight of Lord Curzon in creating this branch of Government Service. It has gone far to redeem the reputation of an administration under which such unspeakable acts of vandalism occurred in the past in the palaces at Agra, Delhi, and Lahore.

THE RELIGION OF ISLAM, by the Rev. F. A. Klein. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.)

IN this book Mr. Klein passes in review the leading tenets of Islam, and adds a chapter on the sects of Islam. The work of printing has been very well done at the S. P. C. K. Press, Vepery, Madras. The author wisely does not indulge in any comments or criticism, a style of dealing with the faith of others which is very welcome in these days. The book is a valuable one as giving those who have no Arabic, and they are the majority, a clear statement of what the religion of Islam does and does not teach as matter of faith. The notes are copious and lucid. The last chapter, on the sects of Islam, is from a historical point of view perhaps the most interesting.

GILLESPIE'S ARGUMENT A PRIORI, etc., 6th edition. (T. and T. Clark.)

This is a book which has encountered a great deal of criticism, and seems to be surviving it. Logical proof of matters of faith and feeling, as a rule, do not command much popularity. The minds are few and far between which are led to the love of religion by argument rather than by experience or example. The Deistic controversy is happily over and the difficulty of our day rather consists in interpreting the duty of man in his relation to the Superior Being than

in recognising the attributes of that Being Himself. And we cannot but feel that a certain peril of *Mortemain* must attach to the practice of re-publication of opinions through trust funds when the author is no longer in a position to reconsider his views or to alter their expression.

**CHRISTIAN MISSION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS., Vol. III, by the Rev.
J. S. Dennis. D. D. (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrice.)**

THIS volume worthily maintains its author's high reputation for industry and scholarship. The subject is indeed a great one, and it is here treated with a dignity and conciseness which leave nothing to be desired. While the book will be specially welcome to those who have the cause of missions at heart, it will be impossible for anyone who casts even the most superficial glance upon it to remain unimpressed by the extraordinary energy and devotion of which it is a permanent record.

**HISTORY OF INDIA, by H. G. Keene, C. I. E. (2 vols). 2nd edition.
(John Grant).**

We welcome the second edition of Mr. Keene's History. The author has fairly attained the object he sets before him "to relate the whole growth of India, from Chaos to Cosmos, in a consecutive order." The chronological analysis and the maps which accompany these volumes are of special importance. It is perhaps unavoidable that names should bulk largely in a history of India, but Mr. Keene's view of his vast subject differs very markedly from the vulgar conception which sees in the history of a country nothing but the personalities of its rulers and hears nothing but the clash of swords. Mr. Keene writes in a pleasant readable style, and the book is excellently printed and indexed. The book should be largely used by students for higher subordinate services in which Indian history is a selected subject for examination.

DISENCHANTED, by Pierre Loti. Translated by Clara Bell. (Macmillan and Co.)

THIS book deals with a pathetic subject, the conditions under which Turkish ladies of the upper class live their lives.

to-day. It has all the elegance and grace of diction for which the author is so famous, and so good is the translation that the delicacy of the original has not been lost in it. M. Loti has no definite suggestion to offer for the amelioration of a state of society which all must feel to be deplorable and anomalous. He trusts to the sympathetic perception of the true Mussulman to find some way out of the *impasse*. Incidentally we get a pleasanter impression of the Sultan of Turkey than is usually suggested to us either by fiction or by history.

IN THE DAYS OF THE COMET, by H. G. Walls. (Macmillan and Co.)

MR. WALLS is in some respects the most original and suggestive writer of the day. In his new book his many admirers will feel that he has reached his high-water mark at present in the realm of imaginative romance. If the aim of true fiction be, as many of us believe, to sketch the possibilities of the future by a kind of prophetic instinct, then we must hold that Mr. Walls has formed a clearer conception of the ideal of novelist than most contemporary writers. And the comforting feature about Mr. Walls' work from a reviewer's point of view is that it continually improves. This book, along with *Kipps'*, marks a very considerable stage of advance on the mere cleverness and brilliancy that distinguished the author's earlier contributions to our literature.

RUNNING HORSE INN, by A. T. Sheppard. (Macmillan and Co.)

A study of English life under the Regency, with the Thistlewood conspiracy as a political background. The book is well written, abounding both in humour and pathos. It paints very vividly the distress that followed on the great war against Napoleon. Many readers will regret that the conclusion is not a happy one. The heroine's accidental death might well have been dispensed with, and its occurrence renders the vicarious sacrifice of George Karnatt comparatively useless.

NO FRIEND LIKE A SISTER, by Ross N. Carey. (Macmillan and Co.)

MISS CAREY writes with great simplicity and charm. The ordinary domestic life of England is her field, and she secures excellent results from it.

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Art. I.—IN ARAKAN A CENTURY AGO.

LOOKED at backward from the present day, the goings on in India in the early years of the last century seem fascinating in their interest, and we feel thankful to each Busteed, Blechynden, and Lawson who gathers the fast-fading memorials and prepares a permanent record of times with which our fathers were familiar, but the like of which will never be seen again, those strange days, rosy and romantic, when the East of twenty centuries appeared, like the full moon, and then disappeared for ever in a Western light. But at that time Arakan, across the Bay, on the east of Burma, was more enchanting than India; and materials are very scant from which to bring out a picture of life as it was lived there before our Arakan war of 1825 introduced the *pax Britannica* and made that battle-ground of rival races, tiger-haunted and robber-infested, like a flourishing district of British India. One man who could tell about the Arakan of the past, and who left some record of what he knew, was the late Rev. Robert Robinson, Baptist minister, and, under Government, Examiner of Privy Council Appeals, long and well known in Calcutta as a man of energy and eloquence. In his youth Mr. Robinson married a Miss Fink, whose father had a strange and eventful career, during many years of which he was identified with

Arakan and all that coast, civilizing the people, pacifying the tribes, and more than once doing yeoman's service to what there was of British authority in the place. An old pamphlet by Mr. Robinson, long out of print and remembered only by his surviving children, tells the life of his father-in-law, and has furnished many of the particulars for this account of Arakan as it was before Robert Clive occupied a clerk's stool in Madras.

Mr. Fink—John Christopher Fink—came, not from the West, but from the East. He was born in 1796, in Ternate, a minute spot among the Moluccas, and was a son of the Dutch commandant, a native of Amsterdam, Dirk Vink, the V being turned into F by the son because his English friends would not respect the Dutch pronunciation, which is similar to the German. After a lengthened residence, in Ternate, Dirk Vink went as Dutch Resident to one of the Celebes islands, where he remained till the successes of the French revolutionary army in Holland compelled the surrender of the Dutch possessions in the Eastern Archipelago to France. After his death, in 1803, his widow, herself the daughter of an Amsterdam Dutchman, returned with her family to Ternate, and lived there on the labour of her slaves, as was a common way among the Netherlands residents in the East at that time. Mr. Robinson tells us that while the Dutch Government used every means to foster the slave trade carried on in their Eastern possessions, they wisely and humanely provided for the protection of the slaves against many of the sufferings associated with slavery in some other countries: the slave was more of a man and less of a chattel. The Dutch scrupulously regarded family ties among their slaves, and never parted husband

and wife, nor separated a mother from her children. All sales of slaves were regulated by law, according to these conditions. Men who had learned trades, and women trained to domestic service, were often hired out or were allowed to hire themselves out, their owners punctually receiving part of their earnings.

Mrs. Vink lived thus with her children for three years, and then, on her death, the home was broken up. John Christopher, only eleven or twelve years of age, quarrelled with his eldest brother and made his way in an English ship to Amboyna, at that time in British possession, a speck of an island lying midway between North Borneo and Saigon. John never saw any of his brothers or sisters again. He was put ashore at Amboyna, and passed a day or two in destitution and great dejection. Then Dr. Babington, proprietor of the dépôt, who had known his father, took charge of him for two years, employing him as an apprentice and assistant. After that young Fink went to Manila, and in 1810 to Batavia, where he studied medicine for another year under a Dr. Hodgson. Next year he obtained an appointment as assistant apothecary in the Dutch Hussars, a corps which had been retained in British service after the capture of Java from the French by an expedition sent by Lord Minto.* Not long after there occurred a conflict with the natives, less remembered than similar troubles in India, but not less exciting to those engaged in it. Mr. Robinson's account of the situation is as follows:—"Scarcely had Batavia been taken by the British than tidings reached them of an

* Lord Minto accompanied this expedition to Java, but returned to Calcutta in a few months. French frigates and privateers had been sweeping the Indian Ocean, and had inflicted losses on the East India Company amounting to half a million sterling in that year alone. Another expedition sent by the same Governor-General captured Mauritius, which was the French naval dépôt. The English restored Java to the Dutch after Waterloo.

unprovoked and cold-blooded massacre of the Dutch merchants at Palimbang. Palimbang, with a chief town of the same name, was a nominally independent kingdom on the south-east side of the island of Sumatra, whose Sultan had for years been nothing better than a vassal of the Dutch. Attached to his dominions was the island of Banca, separated from the mainland by the straits of Banca. Consequent on the subjugation of Holland by Napoleon Bonaparte, the Dutch possessions and authority in the Eastern Archipelago were ceded to the French and held in the name of the French Government. But, when the authority of the French was, in its turn, superseded by British rule, all the Dutch factories and interests in these islands naturally reverted to the latter. The Sultan of Palimbang, however, does not appear to have understood the true state of the relations between the British and Dutch merchants ; and, now that Batavia had fallen, supposing the Dutch residents within his territory to be completely at his mercy, he wreaked on them an Eastern revenge for the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of their Government. The factory at Palimbang was burnt to the ground, and all the Dutch residents, with their families, were ruthlessly slain."

Colonel Gillespie, the same officer who, as General, was killed in our expedition against the Goorkhas in 1814, was despatched with a small force against Banca and Palimbang, and deposed the Sultan and placed his brother on the throne. Part of Colonel Gillespie's force consisted of the Dutch Hussars, and Assistant Apothecary Fink, of the immature age of sixteen, accompanied them, and was severely wounded in a skirmish. He was afterwards seized with an illness which seems to have been malarial fever, and when considered beyond

recovery, is said to have cured himself in a week by drinking copious draughts of water and sitting up to the neck in a cold stream. Hydropathists, take note!

In 1813, a few months after their return to Batavia, Mr. Fink and his regiment went under the same commanding officer, now become Brigadier-General Gillespie, to the rescue of a Native Chief whose son had raised a rebellion and usurped the Government. The father was reinstated, and the son conveyed as a prisoner to Batavia.

Next year young Fink made his first acquaintance with the English language, by the help of an English merchant living near Batavia, and began to attend a Sunday service for the soldiers conducted by the Rev. William Robinson, one of Carey's associates at Serampore, who, after six years' work in India, was obliged to seek a sphere in Java, being forbidden by the East India Company, till the end of the year 1813, to work as a missionary in Bengal. That was the father of the Robert Robinson mentioned in the beginning of this paper. Fink was profoundly stirred in his conscience by a sermon he heard: "now for the first time," says his biographer, "he felt crushed beneath an overwhelming conviction of personal responsibility to his Maker." His conversion followed: he became a religious man. Three results ensued: he was persecuted by his associates; he was frowned on by the authorities; and he released fourteen slaves whom he owned under his father's will. These slaves had remained in Ternate, but they were legally his property. Sorely against the representations of the Fiscal, who stigmatized the act as one of unmitigated folly, he signed the papers which gave them their

freedom. Realizing next that when the Dutch Government was established again in Java, the position of one who was anything except a profligate or a Lutheran would be insupportable, he resigned his appointment in the Hussars and sailed for Calcutta as medical assistant with a detachment of His Majesty King George IV's 78th Regiment. That was at the end of 1816. One could wish there were a word to tell of the excitement with which the tidings of the victory of Waterloo and the settlement of affairs throughout Europe must have been received, alike by English and by Dutch, in all the Straits and the Archipelago.

Meeting in Calcutta a friend whom he had known in Java, Fink was introduced to the famous missionary trio of Serampore, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, and in due course was "immersed" in the humble Baptist Chapel which still stands in Lall Bazar, and which contains memorials generally overlooked by tourists. He obtained employment in a merchant's office in Calcutta, and diligently improved his English. He also studied and practised Bengalee, with the view of helping his missionary friends. Small as was the English community at that time, and smaller still the Baptist body, the catching enthusiasm and marvellous energy of Dr. Carey diffused a strong missionary spirit in the Lall Bagh congregation, and seven young men formed themselves as a body of voluntary workers under the missionaries. One of these was Fink, and another was H. Ricketts, afterwards founder of the "Parental Academy" for the education of Indo-British children, which grew into the Doveton College through the munificence of Captain Doveton of the Madras Army. Those Baptists who could not thus work gave money liberally for the support of those who could ; for it was

a fixed principle with Carey, as with William Taylor, the American Methodist, sixty years later, that "every Christian ought to be a missionary, and every church a missionary association." Young Fink displayed uncommon zeal, talking with the Baboos at every chance, superintending a Native school on the Howrah side of the river, and preaching in the villages round Calcutta.

One hundred rupees a month was more in that day than it is now, but it was all that Fink was earning when, within a year of his arrival in India, he married Miss Mary Cytano, of Calcutta, who proved an excellent wife and was spared to him all his life.

Four years were passed in the manner now described, when, stirred by a discourse on the dire need of the Mission at Chittagong, Fink offered to relinquish mercantile employment and go as a missionary. He was accepted, and sailed with his wife and family in January 1821.

Chittagong, at that time a three weeks' journey by boat from Calcutta, had been opened as a branch station by the Serampore missionaries in 1812, and the first agent was a Mr. D'Bruyn, who was murdered six years afterwards by a youth, son of an English skipper, who had grown up among the Natives. He was succeeded by a Mr. Peacock, who died of fever only a few weeks before Mr. Fink was hastily despatched to take the vacant place. Chittagong was then called a province of Bengal. It is now the chief town in a district and a division of the same name; and the place next most important in the district is Cox's Bazar, seventy miles south of Chittagong. Further down the coast is the newer and rival port of Akyab, in the district of Akyab and the division of Arakan, which is under the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

When the Baptists started their Mission in Chittagong, the place was chiefly known in Calcutta as the home of the Hugli boatmen and of the lascars on board our merchant ships, who still come from the Chittagong district. They call the town by its Muhammadan name of Islamabad. Besides its proper Native population, the town was inhabited by a great number of Portuguese like the Goanese of the Bombay coast, who have been settled there since the sixteenth century. These people had not the respectable origin of their Goanese fraternity, but were the descendants of pirates and lawless adventurers who used to be employed in turn by Hindoos, Burmese, and Muhammadans, in their incessant wars with each other. Mr. Robinson writes :—“Though they retain the appellation of Christians, the neglect and degeneracy of centuries has reduced them to the abject level of heathenism. In their style of living, their associations, their habits of thought, their ignorance, their gross superstitions, they resemble the surrounding idolators, and stand in equal need of the enlightening and elevating influences of the Gospel.” Chittagong was also at that period a flourishing seaport, and attracted a large population by its trade, though now it has lost some of its importance owing to competition with the more convenient harbour of Akyab.

Mr. Robinson gives a pretty account of the port, somewhat grander than it must have appeared to the Dutchman as he approached it on a venture so different from his experiences in his own country and in Calcutta :—“On entering the river [the Karnafuli, full of shipping and small craft], we get sight of the town studded with low hills, each surmounted by a white house, the residence of some European, to which a winding pathway ascends through an avenue of firs,

whose cone-shaped heads rise in solemn greatness above the other leafy occupants of the hillside. From the tops of these hills, looking southward, may be seen the tumbling waters of the Bay, only separated from the river by a narrow neck of land; whilst the eastern view is bounded by a long line of blue hills, peopled by savage tribes, and clad, from base to summit, by impenetrable jungle. Passing into the district, we find the face of the country diversified by numerous ranges of hills reaching an average height of from 150 to 200 feet for the most part covered with a thick, low jungle, whose monotony is sometimes broken by a tall forest tree overshadowing the lesser growth. The extensive tracts of flat country lying between the ranges are liberally dotted with populous villages, and are under cultivation. The population, which is chiefly Muhammadan, has been estimated at 94,900 [it was given in 1905 as 1,350,000] and is generally more enterprizing and self-helpful than that of some other provinces of Bengal. The Hindoos form but one-third of the population—a proportion which can only be accounted for by the frequent alternate annexations of the province by the Rajas of Arakan and Tippera in early times, and the Raja of Arakan and the Mughal Government at a more recent period." Arakan was finally subdued, and Chittagong was annexed to the Mughal Empire and remained so for ninety-six years, till, by a treaty signed on the 9th of September 1760, it was ceded to the East India Company.

To tell of the Mugh settlement in Chittagong is a separate story. In very early times Arakan, Tippera, and Kamrup were three Hindoo kingdoms, the first-named having, according to the tradition, received its

first king from Benares. The people of Arakan, however, were not Hindoos : they were mostly gathered from the hills and the interior, and were spirit-worshippers. Tippera, which included Chittagong, was separated from Arakan by the Naaf river, and Kamrup was a kingdom of great extent, reaching westward as far as Rungpoor, and having its capital at Gowhattee. When Boeddhistism spread eastward, the Arakanese adopted that faith ; and in 1783 the country was conquered by the King of Burma, at the instance of a traitor named Nga-thande. This man, having a grievance against the Raja, or being ambitious of power, went to the Burmese Court and induced the King, nothing lothe, to send an army against Arakan. The Arakanese were defeated, and their country was made a province of the Burmese "empire." For his services Nga-thande was appointed *mroosoogree*, or head revenue officer, in Arakan—a position sufficiently lucrative to satisfy a less restless spirit. But this adventurer loved not a life of peace. He wanted to be a powerful and independent zamindar at the least. So after a while he organized a considerable force of men who were chafing under the oppressions of the Burmese, and raised a rebellion so formidable that it seemed likely to throw off the foreign yoke. But more Burman troops being sent against him, he was hunted across the border into British territory, where he found numbers of self-exiled Arakanese ready to join him in predatory excursions into their former country. He died at the frontier village of Ramoo, but his spirit descended to his son, Kheng-breng, whose name appears in the English annals as King Berring. This man aspired to set up a kingdom in Arakan, and twice invaded the country with a force large enough to be called an army. The

King of Burma more than once sent a very strong remonstrance to the Governor-General in Calcutta, with the result that a British force was sent against Kheng-breng, he was defeated, and passed out of notice.

But Burmese oppression only increased when the Government was freed from insurrectionary troubles, and the natives of Arakan continued to flee to the hills and dense forests that skirt the southern frontier of Chittagong ; others, penetrating farther, took refuge in the districts of Chittagong and Tippera. These are the people commonly called "Mughs"—a word of uncertain origin and meaning, and not applied to the race in their own country. Thus there sprang up among the hills and valleys of that part of the district a population of 225,700 Mughs, occupying fourteen towns and villages, who were in diligent pursuit of various means of livelihood, as cutting wood, cultivating rice and jute, and fishing. To encourage their permanent settlement, our Government furnished them with agricultural implements and other industrial appliances, through a Captain Cox, who established a bazar for their special benefit—the Cox's Bazar already mentioned, which has grown to be the second town of the district. Being Boeddhist, these immigrants were accompanied by their priests, or *poongyees*, who erected numerous *kyoungs*, that is, monasteries, throughout the settlements, and gave themselves to the education of the children. Mr. D'Bruyn, the missionary who was murdered, having had his attention directed to these strangers, found them far more accessible to the Gospel than the natives of Chittagong. So their settlements became the principal field of his work ; and when Fink was sent to Chittagong, it was with a definite designation

to the Mughs, among whom there were already four stations with organized churches.

Fink entered on his work with his customary enthusiasm, and the Mughs, a warm-hearted and impulsive race, gave him a welcome that drew his heart at the outset. D'Bruyn and Peacock had been content to speak to the Mughs through an interpreter, for their tongue was a dialect of Burmese, and as they lived in their own settlements they did not acquire Bengalee. But Fink set to work to learn Burmese, and so gained a strong hold on the people. For a hundred years ago it was taken as a sign of special interest and goodwill for a foreigner to be at the trouble to learn a Native language. Those were palmy days for Burman pirates, and Mr. Robinson relates a story of Mr. Fink averting an armed attack on his own boat and inducing the robbers to listen to a discourse on the evil of their ways, and to accept some Burmese tracts.

Mr. Fink was very successful in his school work among the Christian Mughs. He not only gave the boys a superior education to what was imparted by the *poongyees*, but taught the girls to read and write—an unheard-of thing among the unconverted Natives. But he was obliged to proceed cautiously in attracting other boys to his schools, because there he met opposition from the priests, whose prerogative the instruction of the boys was, and with whom they lived during the period of their education, in accordance with Boeddhist custom. Mr. Robinson thus describes the Native method:—"A little reading, writing, and account-keeping were the sum total of what they were taught. Both priest and pupils were supported by daily contributions made by the shop-owners and householders of the village, of rice, vegetables, and other articles of food.

Clad in a loose yellow mantle, and attended by a servant bearing a large, palm-leaf fan, which was scrupulously interposed between him and every woman that passed (for he was not allowed to look upon a woman), the priest made the circuit of the village or bazar every morning. He was followed by his pupils, who bore lacquered trays for the reception of the gifts of the people. No word was spoken during these perambulations. Stopping at each door, the priest struck a brass gong, which he carried for the purpose, to give intimation of his arrival Anything might be given on these occasions but money, which it was not lawful for a priest to have." In contrast with this voiceless transaction is the way of Hindoo religious mendicants, who not only exhort their donors with eloquence to give bountifully, but rate them soundly if their gifts be not liberal. A more important and notable difference is to be observed between the indigenous schools of Arakan and Burma and those of Bengal: it is that while the former support their pupils, the latter are supported by them. In Bengal, before our Government undertook universal education and Western ideas dried up Hindoo theology, the "Guru Mohashoy" was an institution. He settled down in a village and opened school, and the boys paid him four annas, two annas, or one anna, a month, according to their means. But, as has been shown above, in Booodhist schools the pupils live in the monastery and share with their teacher the gifts of the people.

Rudimentary as the instruction imparted to boys was, except in the case of candidates for the priesthood, it helped them in business, and so was an advantage. Hence the priest was always popular, and sure of a good livelihood. However, as the superior attainments of

boys educated by Fink became recognized, the teaching of the *kyoungs* fell off in public estimation, and the Christian schools grew in favour. Mr. Fink also made himself acquainted with Burmese mythology, and even gave attention to the ancient Pali language, which gained him the respect of the *poongyees*. In time he became a very effective speaker to the Arakanese, and did an immense deal of itinerating in the hills and marshes of Chittagong occupied by those people.

Mr. Fink seems to have had a full share of the troubles which most missionaries in India suffer from men professing Christianity with the hope, as Mr. Robinson has put it, "to be set up in business or get a comfortable pension for life." Mr. Robinson has a good deal to say about the difficulty of guarding against such hypocrisy ; but he never suggests the apostolic method, and the only method which has ever succeeded, that is, to give converts nothing, directly or indirectly, but to leave them to battle with life like other people. It is not necessary to come to India to see the effect of encouraging people to make the best of both worlds : in England itself the membership of almost any church would be increased if men who professed conversion and became religious were assured of a living free from the principal anxiety of ordinary life.

An amusing illustration of the simplicity of the people eighty years ago is found in the fact that Mr. Fink was able to attract a crowd by holding up his watch till the people could see the minute hand move and hear the ticking ; they supposed that it was a living thing. Similarly a Boeddhist priest from Ceylon, who opposed the missionary energetically and persistently, carried about a terrestrial globe and over-awed the people by discoursing on the outlines of countries

which were marked on it. Here it may be mentioned that between the death of Mr. Peacock and the arrival of Mr. Fink, Mr. Coleman, a colleague of Judson in Burma, came to Cox's Bazar, but died of fever within a year. This event had no deterring effect on Mr. Fink, who, on the contrary, became profoundly impressed with the uncertainty of life and the necessity of fulfilling his mission with diligence. He believed that his duty was to live in Cox's Bazar, the central gathering place of the Mughs ; but he was immediately attacked with fever, which almost proved fatal, and thereafter retained his headquarters at Chittagong.

Those were days when a Hindoo could be disconcerted and silenced by a reminder of the immorality of his gods and goddesses. It is different in our day, when English education has sophisticated the Hindoos and Swamees can flaunt their faith in America and England. As Mr. Robinson puts it, if a Hindoo were plied with the old argument now, "he would tell us that there need be no congruity between the character of the so-called deity that is worshipped and the God whom this deity is believed to reveal : that the obscenities of Hindoo worship, suggested, as they are, by the proclivities of universal human nature, are to be viewed only as the accidental symbol of the emotional transport excited by the contemplation of the Supreme Being ; and that this transport, not its accidental expression, is the true index of the heart's adoration."

Mr. Fink had been three years in Chittagong when our first Burmese war broke out (1824), Lord Amherst being Governor-General of Bengal. It will be remembered that at the time Arakan was conquered by the Burmans, Chittagong was a British possession. Nevertheless, because it had once belonged to the Raja

of Arakan, the Burman "Emperor" thought he had a right to it: and began encroachments by directing or encouraging incursions into the southern parts of the district. Finding that these had no worse result than to draw diplomatic remonstrances from the Governor-General—for the Mughs also had been carrying dakaiti across the border into Arakan—the Lord of the White Elephant, the Golden Foot, made a regular military invasion of Assam and Cachar. Then we declared war, and the "Emperor" promptly despatched an army against Bengal, under General Maha Bandoola, who was given a pair of golden fetters to be placed on Lord Amherst, and he was to be brought a prisoner to Ava. But the war ended differently, and Arakan was ceded to the British by the treaty of Yandabo, in 1826.

Now the most interesting, alarmingly interesting, part of all these proceedings to Mr. Fink, his family, and his mission, was the early incursions into south Chittagong. When ten thousand Burmans fell suddenly on Ramoo and destroyed its British garrison of five hundred sepoys, and then proceeded to take Cox's Bazar, there was a precipitate flight of Mughs, both Christian and Booodhist, into the town of Chittagong. Men, women, children, crowded every street and bazar of the city, some trying to eke out a precarious livelihood by selling a few trifles; others, without occupation, depending on the little money they had saved in the hurry of flight; and many starving, or dying for want of shelter. This influx of Mughs, together with the distraction and fear that prevailed among the Bengalees, created a scene of distress melancholy to behold. Mr. Fink wrote:—"The gentlemen, civil and military, as well as private individuals, are sending away their families, some to Dacca and some to Calcutta.

Provisions can scarcely be had. No markets are open ; all the Native shops are shut, from one end of Chittagong to the other. The shopkeepers, as well as every description of Natives, are employed in carrying military baggage to the field." He went with his family to Calcutta. All who possessed anything were ruined. But disease, brought on by want and exposure, began to tell among the fugitives, and there was an awful death-rate. It is pleasant to read that the Christians showed themselves worthy of their new faith, sharing what they had with one another, and doing all they could to help and cheer the crowd of Boeddists. These were much impressed by this exhibition of spirit, and expressed their conviction of the beneficent power of Christianity.

When peace was established, the British Government made a proclamation that the Mughs might now return in safety, not only to the settlements they had left, but to their native country of Arakan, which was now British territory, like Chittagong. A very large number of both Christians and Boeddists took advantage of the opportunity ; and as they were both without the means of living and in want of work, Government made large concessions and put forth strenuous efforts to settle the immigrants. Even more arduous was the task of quieting the country ; for Burmese and Arakanese were alike natural dakaits, and quite enjoyed the disorder accompanying and following the war.

At that time the town of Arakan, which had for ages been the capital of a line of Boeddhist Rajas, presented the appearance of a huge irregular fortification. Though still recognized as the capital of the province, it had, since the Burman conquest, lost the little commercial importance it once enjoyed. " Abounding in rice, salt,

teak timber, iron-wood, and ivory, and possessing some of the most magnificent harbours of the world, and a seaboard extending from the river Naaf to Cape Negrais, the province had, nevertheless, no export trade. The islands alone, which stretch along the entire coast, had a soil whose capabilities promised rich success to any agricultural enterprise; but they lay neglected." All this became rapidly transformed after the British pursued and executed the leading dakaits and established order. Industries flourished and business developed, while Akyab, which was only a collection of rude Native dwellings, grew into a city, the outlet for a great export trade, and eventually surpassed the old capital. The river Naaf, named above, is the dividing line between Chittagong and Arakan, that is, between Bengal and Burma.

Mr. Fink, who had returned to Chittagong in January 1825, made extensive tours in the district, and baptized many converts. Then following the emigrants to Arakan, where he obtained permission from Serampore to transfer the Mugh Mission, he, after several experiments, founded a colony on an island near Akyab, which was called Fink's Bazar. That place grew from eleven houses to three hundred between the years 1826 and 1829. Mr. Fink also opened schools, and preached far and near, not without much harassment from dakaits, with whom the police were, for a time, unable to cope. Moreover, he became very useful to the Government officers, who were anxious to spread education, and who recognized his success and zeal in that work, as well as his knowledge of the vernacular and his personal influence which made the people trust him and cheerfully submit to him. A knowledge of English became a valuable acquisition under the British administration,

and Mr. Fink quickly met the demand by opening classes for English reading and writing. To check the depredations of the dakaits Government organized a river police, armed with muskets and swords, and furnished with "snake" boats similar to those in use among the dakaits ; but the numbers of the latter, instead of lessening, only increased. A notorious robber-chieftain, named Ngamoukree, or Ngamouki, continued to defy the police and keep the country in terror for nearly a year after severe examples had been made of some of the ringleaders. He was, however, eventually attacked in his stronghold by a party of sepoys, aided by a thousand armed Arakanese, who succeeded in driving him into the mountains and insuring security in the province.

In Arakan Fink fell in with numbers of what he called "Mugh Musalmans." These were not converted Mughs, but *bona fide* Muhammadans, whose forefathers had been imported from Bengal, perhaps as slaves by the Arakan Rajas ; for these, in the days of their power, made many marauding incursions into Bengal. Many of these Mugh Musalmans retained the language and habits of their former country : others had become undistinguishable from the Arakanese, except in wearing long beards. A large number of them followed the calling of fishermen. Their knowledge of their religion was almost nothing : many could not repeat their creed correctly.

Mr. Fink was planning the extension of his work to various interesting aboriginal tribes who occupied the mountains between the coast country and Burma, and owed allegiance to no Government, when disaster at Serampore broke up his work and changed the tenour of his life. The disaster was the failure of Messrs. Alexander and Co., and Messrs. Mackintosh and Co.,

of Calcutta, in which firms the Mission had thirty-one thousand rupees. At this time the Serampore Mission, with the branches belonging to it, was entirely dependent on its own resources, having, about 1827, become separated from the Society in London, and it remained in that state of severance for ten years. By degrees Mr. Fink's stipend fell into arrears and diminished in amount so much that he had difficulty to provide his family with food and clothing. The Government offered him a position as Fiscal Officer at Aeng on Rs. 400 a month, which he declined, although he had received nothing from Serampore for more than six months; but he accepted one hundred rupees a month as tax-collector in the town of Akyab, where he could continue his Mission work. The office was called by the characteristic Native name of *thoogye*, or "great man," like *mahajan* in India. So conciliatory were Mr. Fink's methods, and so much confidence had the Government in his judgments, that disputes about the taxes were submitted to his arbitration, instead of being settled at law. Subsequently other disputes were left to him to settle, and he did it by assembling a sort of *panchayat* of respectable inhabitants. Mr. Robinson records it, that five years after he left Arakan the authorities were regretting his loss. About this time Mr. Fink's son Charles received an appointment in the Education Department in Bengal, and advanced so well that at the time of his death, in 1847, he held the office of Visitor-General of Schools in the North-West Provinces.

Mr. Fink continued without a salary from his Mission for several years, and lived with his family in painful poverty. But as the circumstances at Serampore became more straitened, the missionaries ceased to remit money even for current expenses, and

Mr. Fink, with many regrets, severed his twenty years' connection with the Mission. That was in 1837 : but great events were to occur before that time.

The ninth chapter of our pamphlet is taken up with a curiously interesting account of a visit paid by Mr. Fink to one of the hill tribes mentioned before. The tribe was named Khoo-moing-mro, and its principal village, where the Chief lived in barbaric state, was Mounkhyong, three days' journey from Akyab. The Chief paid a visit first, having learned that he was no longer subject to the King of Burma, but to the Government of India. He came, with a number of retainers, to inquire about the new laws he would have to obey, and was directed to the "great man." Mr. Fink answered his inquiries, and then entered into religious conversation with the party. He learned that the tribe recognized no supernatural being except a demon, called, as in Burma, a *nat*, who was not worshipped, but was propitiated with offerings of fowls, kids, pigs, etc. and whose aid was invoked, or, shall we say? favour was besought, in sickness and calamity. The Chief told Mr. Fink that the Burmans had tried to persuade his people to adopt their religion, promising them happiness in the future birth if they would dig tanks, build monasteries for *poongyees*, and construct bridges over creeks for the convenience of travellers. The happiness "was to consist of an unlimited number of pretty wives, plenty of cattle, large houses, and an exhaustless supply of money." Students of Boeddhistm are aware that these extremely popular hopes are hateful to the very spirit of that faith. The tribesmen were, of course, ignorant of any alphabet, but they kept simple accounts by knots in string, and by marks made with charcoal on a board.

This interview took place in the autumn of 1833, and a month later Mr. Fink made a journey to the Chief's village, with two of his Native preachers. That was probably the first acquaintance made by a European with the dense jungle, precipitous hills, and steep paths which have recently become more familiar to us through our several military expeditions against the Chins and the Looshais. Mr. Fink and his two companions were received with much honour, the Chief's two sons coming out with spears to escort them into the village. The Chief had four wives in that place, and four others in another village on the top of the mountains. We are not told the Chief's age, but his senior wife was sixty years old, and he had a grandson with several wives. Mr. Fink was introduced to all the eight ladies without ado. A large party, armed with spears and *daos*, or billhooks, accompanied him up the mountain, and were with difficulty dissuaded from carrying him. Here the missionary first heard the loud alarm of the barking-deer. Having reached the higher village, the Chief and his following lost no time in making themselves drunk on a fermented liquor prepared from rice and certain drugs. A basin was filled with the drink and refilled as often as it was emptied, while the men sucked the liquor in rotation through a tube. It was their custom to continue drawing at the tube till all were intoxicated. Mr. Fink not only declined to take his turn at the tube, but, with the risk of giving offence, discoursed on the sinfulness of getting drunk. The Chief acknowledged it was wrong, but pleaded that his fathers had been drunkards before him.

After the drinking there was prolonged smoking, which was also done in common. The apparatus was on the principle of the Indian *hugga*, that is to say, the smoke was passed through water; but the vessel holding

the water was the hard shell of a pumpkin, which had a number of pipes or stems round it, and the men sat round, each to a pipe, and all drew the smoke at the same time. The tobacco was contained in a correspondingly large bowl fixed above the gourd-shell. We have heard that Looshai women smoke small pipes which are so contrived that the tobacco juice, concentrated nicotine, distils, drop by drop, into a little cup hanging under the bowl. This juice is then put into a cup of water and offered to be sipped by men only who are either honoured guests or specially favoured members of the family. Something of the same kind, but filthily offensive, was practised by these savages. For each smoker discharged his saliva into a little vessel connected with his own pipe, and when the smoking was over the saliva was collected in one vessel and passed round the company to be tasted. To refuse to join in this ceremony was a distinct breach of friendship, but Mr. Fink was let off on the plea that the custom was not observed in his country. He propitiated his hosts with gifts of glass beads and coloured cotton handkerchiefs, of which he had brought a supply. The tribe were head-hunters, like several other tribes on our north-east frontier, and the Chief's reception-hall, where Mr. Fink witnessed the drinking and smoking that have been described, was decorated with many human skulls, trophies of the Chief's prowess.

As the drunken group sat talking, sounds of barbaric music, with the beating of large gongs, were heard at the other end of the village. One of the wives of the Chief's eldest son was ill, and the ruling demon was to be propitiated in her interest. All the party rose and walked out to see the fun, for that was what it was to them. They found a large gathering in the temple,

and a pig was tied to a post in front of the entrance. Two small pots of intoxicating liquor stood near the pig. These and the pig were an offering to the demon. Inside the temple were two bowls of the same liquor, which both priest and people were imbibing liberally. There was great excitement, and everybody was more or less drunk. After a time the sick woman made her appearance, and a spear was put into her hand. She stabbed the pig, which was then clubbed to death. The woman seated herself, with the dead pig and the two pots of liquor in front of her, while gongs were beaten and the assembly danced wildly. When they were all tired, the pig was cooked and cut up. More liquor was brought, and a large quantity of boiled rice, a pot of grease, and some scraped green ginger. The people one by one advanced to the centre, put a little of the ginger into their mouths, took a mouthful of liquor and blew it out on the rice. Then a young man rubbed a little of the grease on the crown of the head of every person present. The meaning that lies behind each of these performances is probably lost in the dim past, and as the frontier tribes come under the influence of Boeddhhism, Hindooism, or Christianity, the ceremonies themselves will fall into disuse. When the demon was supposed to be restored to good humour, pieces of pork and portions of rice were distributed on strips of plantain leaf and eaten. An old priest, who looked very drunk, sat and beat a buffalo horn with a piece of green bamboo, and chanted an invocation to the demon. When that was over, he and the band of musicians danced round several times to the beating of a drum, and the company dispersed.

All this was not carried on far into the night, as the custom is in India, perhaps because of danger from

wild beasts, but was concluded early in the afternoon, and Mr. Fink had good daylight to descend the mountain, the seasoned old Chief retaining enough of his senses to conduct him down. The missionary was full of a desire to open a school and teach the children of the tribe the Burmese alphabet ; but want of means, together with the growing insecurity of the country, prevented anything practical from being attempted. Whether the sick woman survived her cure, we are not told.

Mr. Fink had met parties of other hill tribes, who came to Akyab and looked in at his Mugh services. On one occasion an old savage listened closely and remained to the end, and then remarked :—" This is the first time I ever heard that there was a God in Heaven, and that men had immortal souls." When the Arakan rebellion, which will presently be noticed, broke out, the Chiefs of the Arryng tribe, living far beyond the Khoo-moing-mros, in the mountains, came to Akyab and assured our Commissioner of their fidelity, and offered the assistance of a large body of fighting men against the rebels. Mr. Robinson gives Mr. Fink's impression of these and other hill tribes as follows :—" With all their hideous usages and revolting orgies, they were simple in their manners, frank and trustful in their disposition, and far more impressionable than the sordid, trading population of the plain." From this it would appear that they might prove as susceptible of civilization as the Khassees of Assam have done ; that marvellous people who, in two generations under the Welsh missionaries, have turned from unlettered savages to *hackeri* clerks and university graduates. Some years later than Mr. Fink's acquaintance with the hill tribes, when the American

Baptists from Burma had a mission at Akyab, some of their missionaries opened one or two schools in the hills, but the effort was shortly relinquished.

We may now turn to the Arakan rebellion of 1836, which gave Mr. Fink the opportunity of rendering his greatest service to the Government. While the British authorities were striving hard and persistently to suppress dakaiti, the dakaits were organizing a conspiracy for the overthrow of the newly established British authority. The leaders of the conspiracy were three relatives of Kheng-breng and an outlaw of British justice who had found a refuge in Burma. These men conceived the idea of placing themselves, by either diplomacy or force, in the position of the old Rajas of Arakan ; and they promoted dakaits with the double purpose of having the dakaits ready as an armed and warlike force, and of so distressing the British authorities that they would withdraw from the province as not worth the trouble of holding. The four men addressed a petition to the Supreme Council in Calcutta, proposing that all European and Native officers of Government should be recalled from Arakan, and the province be placed under one of themselves as a Native ruler. No notice was taken of that ; so the conspirators proceeded to carry out their desire by force. They imported quantities of arms from Calcutta ; they threw the country into disorder by dakaits ; they bribed more than fifty police officers to take an oath of allegiance to them ; and they corrupted many of the local military levies, called the Arakan Battalion and the Mugh Corps. From papers which came to light afterwards, it appeared that if the rebellion should prove successful, each subahdar would receive Rs. 200 a month, each jamadar Rs. 100, and each private Rs. 30. Every man

who consented was required to record his oath on a strip of palm leaf or piece of paper, and read it aloud in the presence of the assembled conspirators. The document was then burned, and the ashes were mixed in a bowl of water in which spears and musket barrels had been washed ; and the water was drunk by the man taking the oath. It was arranged that while the authorities and regular troops were quelling disorders in the interior, the great dakait Chief, Ngamouki, should attack Akyab by night. The traitors in the city were each told off to kill a particular officer or civilian when the attack took place ; the treasury was to be plundered, and the jail opened. A slip in the handwriting of Kheng-breng's nephew was found, which contained the names of rebel leaders who were to be rewarded with the wives of the gentlemen murdered.

These plans were being matured for more than a year without the suspicion of the authorities. Mr. Fink was the first to learn what was going on, but he had to report thrice, each time with additional evidence, before his representations were taken seriously. As soon as the heads of the conspiracy heard that their secret was getting out, they sent word to the chief dakaits to start disturbances in the interior, with the view of drawing off officers and sepoyys from Akyab. "Village after village was attacked and pillaged, the old town of Arakan was burned, the lives of peaceful inhabitants were taken, and the district was in a terrible state of anarchy and confusion." Still, the four leaders lived in Akyab like respectable and peaceful citizens. Mr. Fink was assured, however, that if they were arrested disturbances would cease, and all the evidence that could be desired would be found against them.

At length his advice was taken, and was more than justified. The next thing to be feared was Ngamouki's descent on the town before he could hear that the conspiracy was discovered. Mr. Fink was entrusted with the defence of the town, and took his measures with skill and energy. "Fearing lest the evil-disposed inhabitants should take advantage of some false alarm to plunder the town and murder the families of the European residents, these families were for the most part sent on board the ships or Chinese junks that lay in the harbour; strong pickets were placed at convenient distances along the entire river frontage of the town, it being well-known that Ngamouki and his band could come only by water; the police was strengthened all over the town; the people were not suffered to loiter about anywhere in groups; and the whole night was spent by Mr. Fink in visiting his guards and seeing that they did their duty. But Ngamouki had been informed of the discovery of the conspiracy, and declined to make his appearance. The night passed over quietly, and though, through many subsequent nights, the people were fearful and anxious, no attack was made, the town remained undisturbed, and the officers of the Mugh Corps were not shot down by their loyal sepoys." This happened in 1836. The four leaders were transported, after a trial lasting for three weeks. The dakait bands in the interior lost heart, and the Government troops had no more difficulty in establishing order.

As we have seen, Mr. Fink severed his connection with the Serampore Mission in 1837, and left Arakan. In 1839 the Baptist Missionary Society in London, which had in the meantime again adopted the Serampore Mission, assumed responsibility for the Chittagong

Mission, and Mr. Fink was reappointed in charge. Soon afterwards the Arakan Mission was transferred to the American Baptists, who were already strong in Burma and had agents in the southern part of the province. In sixteen or seventeen years, counting from the time of the transfer, the Americans sent fourteen men and women to Arakan, and lost five of them, besides some children, by cholera or fever, most of the remainder having to retire through broken health. Then, in 1857, the Mission was abandoned.

Mr. Fink continued at Chittagong till 1846, and then withdrew and took up his residence in Serampore, aged only fifty years, but tormented and crippled with gout, a disease from which his father had suffered. Ten years later, on the 10th of September 1856, he died in Intally, Calcutta, where he had removed some five years previously. Thus came to a peaceful termination a varied and venturesome career, passed in Java, Bengal and Burma, as doctor, soldier, magistrate, and missionary.

During his last nine years in Chittagong Mr. Fink annually visited a great Hindoo fair at Seetakoond, in the hills about twenty-five miles north of his station. The road was all forest, and at a time when tigers howled in the precincts of Calcutta, it is not surprising to read that the missionary had at least one adventure with a tiger. The shrine was of great antiquity, and there was a tradition that both Ram and Shiva had visited it. Pilgrims and traders used to attend the fair from Lahore on the west and Rangoon on the east; and for a week or more the plain facing the double hill where the temples stood was crowded with the booths and sheds of shopkeepers and devotees. Mr. Robinson has given a graphic description of the endless bands of women conducted, as is the custom at Pooree and other

great places of Hindoo pilgrimage to this day, by religious guides who travel far and wide in search of pilgrims; and also of the repeated ceremonies to be performed and fees to be paid, by both men and women, before they can enjoy the privilege of admission to the successive shrines and sacred spots. One of the miraculous sights shown to the purified was a "burning well." This was an artificial reservoir into which water fell from a spring, and, in consequence of the production, or escape, of an inflammable gas, flames could be made to play on the falling water by the application of a lighted match.

BENJAMIN AITKEN.

Lucknow.

Art. II.—WITH TASHI LAMA IN INDIA.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

THE title, Tashi Lama, is a contraction of the fuller designation “The Grand Lama of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo.” Tashi-lhumpo is a grand monastery, vast in extent, over which the Tashi Lama presides as supreme, and is the home of 4,080 monks. It commands a conspicuous position in the province of Tsang in Western Tibet. The province of Tsang includes many flourishing towns and is cut up in two principal divisions. The capital of the upper part is Gyantse and that of the lower Shigatse, the latter being the residence of the Tashi Lama. Tashi-lhumpo and its neighbouring town, Shigatse, are situated in that portion of the Tibetan territory where the Tashi Lama is even at present universally recognised as the spiritual Lord and temporal Chieftain. The Tashi Lama is better known in Tibet under the name of Panchen-Rinpoche.*

In Tibet there is another very influential dignitary called the Dalai Lama, who is popularly known in Tibet as Gyatwa-Rinpoche, and resides in Lhasa in the province of Wu or Central Tibet exercising political authority over the whole country.

The name Dalai Lama was unknown up to the year 1642, when the Mongolian warrior, Kushi Khan, conquered Tibet. He made over the sovereignty of the central portion, namely the province of Wu, to the then head Lama of the monastery of Depung, and the sovereignty of Tsang, or Western Tibet, to the head

* Pan means scholar, chen means great and rinpoche signifies the most precious gem. The title is significant of his being the Chancellor of the University of Tashi-lhumpo.

Lama of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo. Ngag-Wang-Lobzang-Gyantso, who was the head Lama of the monastery of Depung, received from Kushi Khan also the title of Dalai (ocean of learning), by which he and his successors have since then been uniformly known. He was confirmed in his title and sovereignty by the Emperor of China in 1645 A.D., when he built a palace for himself at Potala in Lhasa where he transferred his residence from Depung. In order to consolidate his rule, he also posed himself as an incarnation of the principal god, Avalokitesvara.

The head Lama of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo, to whom Kushi Khan had presented the sovereignty of Tsang or Western Tibet, was named Lobzang-Chai-kyi Gyal-tshan. He initiated and ordained Ngag-Wang-Lobzang-Gyatso, who, as we have already seen, afterwards became the first Dalai Lama. The first Dalai Lama who called himself an incarnation of Avalokitesvara respected the first Tashi Lama (that is the Grand Lama of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo) as his Spiritual Father. So the latter, *i.e.*, the first Tashi Lama, was regarded by the people as an incarnation of Amitabha, the Spiritual father of Avalokitesvara. The first Tashi Lama had also many lay pupils, of whom the conqueror Kushi Khan himself was one. In the year 1671 A.D. the second Tashi Lama, named Lobzang-ye-she-Palzang, was ordained to the priesthood by the first Dalai Lama, but in the years 1703 and 1728, respectively, the second Tashi Lama, in his turn, initiated the second and third Dalai Lamas, and also the Grand Imperial Lama of Pekin.

In 1728 A.D. the Emperor of China was anxious to settle the boundary between the provinces of Wu (Central Tibet) and Tsang (Western Tibet), and at his

request, the second Tashi Lama assumed the sovereignty of the portion of Tibet lying to the west of Panam, including the districts of Lha-tse, Phun-tsho-ling Nyam-ring, Jong-kha, Ki-rong, Nyari-kar-sum, and relinquished the possession of Phari, Gyal-tsue, Tar-do-tsho and other places to the Government of Lhasa. In the year 1758, the third Tashi Lama, named Lobzang-pal-dan-ye-she, received ordination to the priesthood from the third Dalai Lama, but in the year 1777, the fourth Dalai Lama was ordained by him (the third Tashi Lama).

Regarding the territorial possession of the third Tashi Lama, it may be said that in the year 1766 the Emperor of China sent a deputation with a letter appointing him (*i.e.*, the third Tashi Lama) to be the sovereign, spiritual and temporal, of the great province of Tsang or Western Tibet. The fourth Tashi Lama, named Je-tan-Pahi-nyi-ma, lived between 1781 A.D. and 1854 A.D., and was seen by Samuel Turner. The fifth Tashi Lama (named Je-pal-dan-choi-kyigrag-pa-tan-pashi-wang-phang) died in August 1882.

The present Tashi Lama, whose tour in India will be described in the following pages, is named Lobzang-Choi-kyi-Nyi-ma, and is the sixth in descent from the first Tashi Lama. He was born in the year 1883 and was installed in the hierarchy of Tashi-lhumpo in February 1888.

Though gradually almost all the temporal power connected with the Government of Tibet has passed into the hands of the Dalai Lama, the Tashi Lama still retains possession of the greater part of Western Tibet, granted to him by Kushi Khan and the Emperor of China. At Shigatse, the Tashi Lama has got under him a Shâpe or Minister and several Jongpons or district officers. Though the ultimate authority rests with the

Dalai Lama, disputed cases in Western Tibet are decided by these officers in consultation with the Shâpe, and even with the Tashi Lama. In spiritual matters, the Tashi Lama is often regarded as superior to the Dalai Lama. The difference in the ecclesiastical rank between the Dalai Lama and Tashi Lama is not, however, very great, for between two Lamas, the one who happens to be older, generally holds the authority. The present Tashi Lama is now 23 years of age, being 7 years junior to his brother the Dalai Lama.

LIST OF DALAI LAMAS.

1.	Ngag-wang-lobzang-Gya-tsho	...	1617—1682
2.	Tshang-wang-Gya-tsho	...	1683—1706
3.	Kal-zan	...	1708—1758
4.	Jam-pal	...	1758 - 1805
5.	Lung-tog	...	1805—1816
6.	Tshul-Khrim	...	1817—1837
7.	Khe-dub	...	1837—1855
8.	Phrin-le	...	1856—1876
9.	Thub-dan-Gya-tcho	...	1876—1907

LIST OF TASHI LAMAS.

1.	Lobzang-choi-kyi-Gyal-tshan	...	1569—1662
2.	Lobzang-ye-she-Pal-zang	...	1663—1737
3.	Lobzang-Pal-den-ye-she	...	1738—1780
4.	Je-tan-pahe-Nyi-ma	...	1781—1854
5.	Je-pal-dan-choi-kyi-grag-pa-tan-pah-i wang-phang	...	1854—1882
6.	Lobzang-choi-kyi-Nyi-ma	...	1883—1907

We shall now examine how the political power in Tibet gradually passed into the hands of the Dalai Lama.

Up to the year 1206 Tibet was independent and bore no political relations to any foreign country. About

that year the great and mighty Mongolian warrior, Jenghis Khan, conquered Tibet, and soon afterwards also China. As Jenghis Khan's successors became Emperors of China, Tibet became a dependency of that country until in the year 1270 a Lama of the Sakya hierarchy was decorated with the title of Tisri or Viceroy by the Emperor of China. The Tibetan Lamas of the Sakya hierarchy ruled Tibet up to the year 1340 under nominal patents from the Emperor of China. From 1340 to 1641 A.D., kings of the Phag-modu dynasty and other native kings ruled Tibet, and owed a nominal allegiance to China. In 1642 A.D. the Mongolian warrior Kushi Khan conquered Tibet.

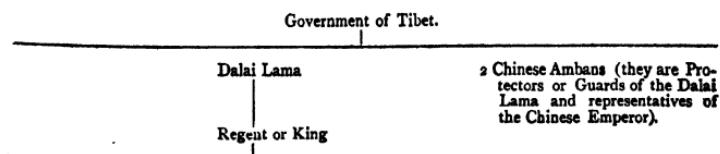
It has previously been observed that Kushi Khan in 1642 A.D. transferred the sovereignty of Central Tibet to the Dalai Lama, and that of Western Tibet to the Tashi Lama. But as a matter of fact the spiritual Government alone was placed in the hands of these two Lamas, and in all temporal affairs Kushi Khan himself continued to be the *de facto* sovereign of Tibet (appointing at Lhasa a Regent, also called King, Governor, or Viceroy) and at Tashi-lhumpo an Administrator for helping him in the government of the country. Engrossed with extending and consolidating his newly acquired kingdom, Kushi Khan had, little by little, to transfer to the Dalai Lama and the Regent most of his authority over Tibet. On the death of Kushi Khan in 1654 A.D. much of the temporal authority devolved on the Dalai Lama. During the reigns of the successors of Kushi Khan, the management of State affairs gradually passed into the hands of the Dalai Lama. The immediate successor of Kushi Khan did not arrive in Lhasa until 1660. So in the interval the Regent, under the advice of the Dalai Lama,

ruled the country. In 1658 the Regent also died. Consequently for one year (1658-1659) the Dalai Lama was the sole ruler of Tibet. In 1660 the successor of Kushi Khan arrived in Lhasa and appointed a regent. Successive regents were appointed by the successive successors of Kushi Khan until in 1680 the Dalai Lama appointed one of his own favourites named Sangye-Gyatsho as the regent and conferred on him absolute authority. This Regent, who completed the building of the nine-storeyed palace of Potala in Lhasa, was killed by the fourth successor of Kushi Khan in 1705 A.D.

Hearing the news of the Regent's violent death, the Khan of Zungaria, in intrigue with the Dalai Lama, sent a large army to invade Tibet. In 1716 they captured Lhasa and killed the last successor of Kushi Khan : thus in this year ended the short-lived kingdom founded by Kushi Khan in Tibet. In the meantime the Chinese Emperor despatched to Tibet a very large army consisting of innumerable Chinese soldiers, who in 1720 A.D. completely overthrew the Zungarians, re-occupied the metropolis of Lhasa and made themselves again the masters of the whole of Tibet. The successors of Kushi Khan being killed and the Zungarians defeated, the Chinese Emperor, at the close of 1720, appointed to the temporal and political rule of Tibet, as subordinate to the Dalai Lama, a king or regent named Telchin-Bathur. In 1727 this Telchin-Bathur was assassinated by order of the Dalai Lama and his men. In 1728 the Emperor of China sent a large army to Tibet, arrested the ringleaders implicated in the murder and imprisoned the Dalai Lama. In 1729 a man named Mi-Wang was appointed king or regent of Tibet in place of Telchin-Bathur. Subsequently

the Dalai Lama got one of his own men as the regent. In 1749 the Chinese put this Regent to death when the Tibetans flew to arms and massacred the Chinese. At this time the Emperor of China introduced two Ambans or Chinese Political Residents in Tibet, but gave up the right of appointing the Regent. About 1775 the office of the Regent was made elective by the most senior incarnate Lamas of the four great monasteries of Tangye-Ling, Kundu-Ling, Tse-Chong-Ling and Tsomo-Ling. The Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister select the Regent, and their selection is confirmed by oracles and ratified by the Emperor of China. As long as the Dalai Lama remains minor, all temporal powers are exercised by the Regent. When the Dalai Lama reaches his majority, fixed at 18 years, the Regent, in the presence of all high officials, presents him with the seals of office of both spiritual and temporal affairs. In the nineteenth century no Dalai Lama reached majority, so that Regency continued without interruption. The last Dalai Lama, who reached majority 13 years ago, was the only one who obtained the entire spiritual and temporal authority over Tibet and was the practical ruler of the country.

The present constitution of the Government of Tibet is as follows :—



¹ Clergy Minister. ⁴ Lay Ministers (also called Shape or Kalons).

⁴ Tung-yig (or Lama Secretaries).

⁹ Khempes (these are Lamas recruited from Shera, Depung and Gedan and are consulted in difficult cases).

II.—TASHI LAMA'S CONNECTION WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

During the administration of Warren Hastings, in the year 1774, George Bogle* was sent to Tashi-lhumpo and met with the then Tashi Lama Lobzang-pal-den-ye-she. In the year 1783 Samuel Turner,† who was sent by Warren Hastings to Tibet, saw the then Tashi Lama, Je-tan-Pahi-Nyi-ma. These two Tashi Lamas, *viz.*, the third and the fourth, did all in their power to promote friendly relations between the British Government of India and the Lamaic Government of Tibet. In 1774 the third Tashi Lama, with a view to make offerings to the image of Buddha at Budh-Gaya and to conduct religious services at Varanasi (Benares), despatched to India a Tibetan high official, 3 Senior Lamas and 9 novice Monks, who carried with them a letter of introduction to Chait Sing, the then Raja of Benares. Since that time no Tibetan has ever been officially sent to India by the Grand Lama of Lhasa or of Tashi-humpo.

III.—TASHI LAMA'S JOURNEY FROM SHIGATSE TO DARJEELING.

For the first time in the history of Tibet His Holiness Tashi Lama the Sixth, named Lobzang-Choi-kyi-Nyi-ma, accepted the invitation of the Indian Government to be present at the Royal Reception at Calcutta during their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales' visit to India in 1905-1906.

* See Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa (1811-1812). Edited with notes, an introduction and lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning by Mr. C. R. Markham, London, 1879.

† See an Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Thibet, containing a narrative of a Journey through Bhutan, and part of Tibet. To which are added views taken on the spot by Lieutenant Samuel Davis; and observations botanical, mineralogical and medical by Mr. Robert Saunders. London, 1800.

The Tashi Lama left Shigatse on 8th November 1905 escorted by Captain O'Connor, Captain R. Steen, and all the nobles and officials of Shigatse, not to mention the whole populace who turned out—very sad at the prospect of their Lama being absent from them for some months.

The party came along in easy stages—halting only at Gyantse, Phari, Chumbi, and Gangtok. At every camp all the people for miles round collected to receive the Lama's blessing. At short intervals along the road to Phari incense was burnt and people prostrated themselves—in fact everywhere could be seen the signs of the sincerest worship and reverence.

At Gangtok the Tashi Lama and following were the guests of the Maharaja of Sikkim, who placed his palace at their disposal.

IV.—TASHI LAMA AT DARJEELING.

Darjeeling was in a state of great excitement when the Tashi Lama arrived there about noon on Wednesday, the 29th November 1905, from Gangtok *via* Pashok. Large crowds went out to meet him at Jala Pahar and Ghoom ; the Bhutias prostrated themselves as he passed, touching his garments and even his baggage to receive a blessing. He was accompanied by Captain O'Connor, Captain R. Steen and the Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim, while the Inspector of Darjeeling with a few policemen was sent to escort the party. Mr. Garrett, the Deputy Commissioner, met the procession on the way to welcome the Lama to Darjeeling. At Drum-Druid Hotel, where special arrangements had been made for putting up the party, the Lama was received with Tibetan salutations. The entry of the Tashi Lama was extremely picturesque, the procession being headed by banners carried by the Lamas of the surrounding

monasteries, whose followers rent the air with deafening Tibetan music played on huge horns, trumpets, drums, etc. Incense was burnt all along the roadsides, and the quaintness of the scene reached its height on the Chowrasta, where the Bhutia community gathered in great number to worship the Tashi Lama as he rode into Drum-Druid Hotel. A goodly number of Europeans sat in the compound of the Hotel to see the arrival. The Tashi Lama is a young man of about 23, of middle size and wears spectacles. He was dressed in a rich yellow robe, wore a long peculiar gold coloured hat, and rode on a Tibetan pony with a decorated oriental saddle. Soon after his arrival at the hotel he retired to his rooms for the day. The next afternoon, and on Friday, he held a reception in the large drawing-room of the hotel, where hundreds of Bhutias were conducted in by the police to receive his blessings. Each pilgrim gave some money according to his or her circumstances, some giving pice, rupees, and others ten-rupee notes, and some even a hundred rupees. The collection on the first day was said to have amounted to over Rs. 2,000, and on the second day even more. On both days a number of Europeans were admitted to see the blessing bestowed. The Tashi Lama was seated on a temporary throne made on a gorgeously bedecked table, his priests hustling away the men and women after they had bowed themselves, and the Tashi Lama had touched their heads with a little stick which had a red piece of cloth tied to it.

The whole party left on Saturday (the 2nd December) morning at 10 by special train for Indian tour. The Tashi Lama was conveyed to the station in a rickshaw covered with bright yellow cloth and drawn by devout Bhutias. A great crowd again formed the procession.

V.—THE TASHI LAMA'S STAFF.

The Tashi Lama's party consisted chiefly of the following :—

- (1) His Holiness Panchen-Rinpoche or Tashi Lama the Sixth named Lobzang-Choi-kyi-Nyi-ma.
- (2) His uncle, Ku-sang-ku-shab-Thal-ji.
- (3) His younger brother, Gung-ku-shab.
- (4) His two principal tutors, named (1) Yonzin Rinpoche-Lho-pa and (2) Lo-chen-Rinpoche.
- (5) His Minister or Shápe, Dub-wang.
- (6) His Assistant Minister, Dronyer-De-Rab.
- (7) His Treasurer, Tse-chag-dzoi-chen-po.
- (8) His Steward, Nyer-tshang-chen-mo.
- (9) His Chief Cook, Tse-ma-chen chen-mo.
- (10) The Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim, Sidkyong Tulku (who joined the party at Gungtok), and 60 other Lamas and laymen.

The undermentioned officers were deputed by the Government of India to accompany His Holiness during his Indian tour :—

- (1) Captain W. F. O'Connor, C.I.E., British Trade Agent, Gyantse (Tibet), Chief of the staff.
- (2) Captain R. Steen, I.M.S., Medical Officer, Gyantse (Tibet).
- (3) Professor Satis Chandra Acharyya, Vidya-bhusana, M.A., of the Presidency College, Calcutta (a Buddhist scholar who joined the party at Siliguri).
- (4) Mr. Laden La, Police Inspector, Kurseong (who joined the party at Darjeeling).

VI.—TASHI LAMA ON THE WAY TO THE PUNJAB.

His Holiness travelled by special train up to Kurseong and then came down by special trolley to Siliguri, where he passed the night in a suitable camp, and where hundreds of tents had been pitched by Bhutias, who, clad in motley dresses and riding on ponies, had been waiting to pay their respects to His Holiness. The next day at half-past eight he left Siliguri by special train, reaching Manihari Ghat at daybreak on the 4th December. After crossing the Ganges by a special steamer he started for Rawalpindi by a special train.

At all the important stations between Darjeeling and Siliguri, Buddhists of different nationalities, such as Tibetans, Bhutias, Sikkimese, Nepalese and others, assembled with long burning incense sticks, white silk scarfs, flowers, etc., to receive blessings from the Tashi Lama. Even the common people looked up to him with profound veneration and whispered to each other, *Upar-ka-Raja*, *i.e.*, "This is the King of the Higher Regions." At the stations down Siliguri, ladies and gentlemen assembled in crowds to have a look at the Holy Personage. He and his party successively passed through Dinajpur, Bhagulpur, Patna, Allahabad, Delhi, etc., most of which places had been known to the Tibetans only by name. It was apparent that the historical traditions of Buddhism had by no means been forgotten in Tibet.

At the same time it appeared that the Tibetans had almost wholly lost touch with modern Buddhism in India, for the Tashi Lama's retinue expressed their wonder at seeing some Buddhists in India and continually inquired whether under the British Government there were people who repeated the formula of

Three Protections, *viz.*, "I take refuge in Buddha," "I take refuge in Dharma," "I take refuge in Sangha." While touring through India on railways for days together they were struck with awe at beholding the vast magnitude of the Indian Empire, and felt deep gratitude to the British Government which afforded them such a splendid opportunity of visiting with ease places which they considered the most sacred on the face of the earth, sanctified as they were by the pious achievements of *Bhagavan* Buddha. The cool, soft, exhilarating breeze in the morning and the effulgent radiance of the golden sun filled them with exquisite delight as they witnessed with gleeful mirth and innocent surprise the playful movements of tortoises and the small sailing boats in the Ganges at Manihari Ghat. The Tashi Lama, however, fell ill just on arriving at the Indian plains. Through the skilful treatment of Captain Steen, His Holiness was soon restored to health. Though His Holiness' illness temporarily threw the party into dismay, the journey from Darjeeling towards up-country was, on the whole, a very pleasant one.

VII.—AT RAWALPINDI.

His Holiness and suite arrived at Rawalpindi on the 7th December at 2-30 P.M., and were accommodated in nice tents. On the same day His Holiness, accompanied by Captain O'Connor, interviewed Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales at about 4 P.M. The next day His Holiness witnessed the Review of nearly 70,000 British troops on the Maidan at Rawalpindi. On the 9th December His Holiness took a drive round the city of Rawalpindi, where he lived comfortably owing to the agreeable cold weather of the place.

VIII.—TASHI LAMA AT TAXILA.

On the 10th December at 9-30 A.M. His Holiness the Tashi Lama, accompanied by the Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim, Captain O'Connor, C.I.E., Captain Steen, I.M.S., Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, M.A., Mr. Laden La and others left Rawalpindi for Taxila.

Taxila was the famous capital of the Punjab when Asoka was the Viceroy of the Province. Taxila, called in Sanskrit Takshasila, and in Tibetan Do-Jog, is 26 miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi and two miles distant from the Seraikala Railway Station. The site is now occupied by the villages Sha-dheri, Sirkap and Kacchakat. At Sirkap the Tashi Lama held a religious service on the spot, where Buddha in one of his previous births, with a view to accomplish "Perfection of Charity," cut off his head and gave it to a hungry tiger and its seven cubs. Nearly one and a half mile to the east of Sirkap stand the ruins of a stupa where the eyes of Kunala, the eldest son of Asoka, were put out through the treachery of his step-mother. North-west of Sirkap is the tank of Elapatra Nag, the King of Snakes, which is now called Tabra Nala. Four miles off from Sirkap are the ruins of a great building, with a spacious quadrangle, surrounded by cells indicating the spot on which stood the once famous University of Taxila, where eighteen sciences were taught. Buddha in one of his previous births was educated here, and here Buddha's physician, Jivaka-Komarabhacca, studied the science of medicine from Attreya. In the vicinity, there are mounds of earth which are all remains of the place where Buddha, in one of his previous births, resided as king under the name of Chandrapradhyota. According to the Buddhist Scripture here are four

gems hidden under the earth which will appear by themselves when Maitreya Buddha will be born.

All Taxila is marked with ruins of votive stupas and monasteries which were built by devotees on the fulfilment of their particular desires. Thousands of men and women are said to have been cured of leprosy and blindness by sweeping off the dust of the stupas and scattering flowers on them at Taxila.

After visiting the various sacred spots in Taxila the Tashi Lama and his suite were entertained in a garden party held in honour of His Holiness at the instance of the late generous Raja Jahandad Khan,* C.I.E., in his Cutcherry near Taxila.

The people of the place complained that there had been no rain during the preceding year. The Tibetans assured them that they would be blessed with sufficient rain in the present year, for there is a well-known tradition in which the Tibetans have implicit faith and which holds that wherever the Tashi Lama goes he is followed by copious rain. After visiting Taxila, the party returned to Rawalpindi in the evening.

On the 11th December at 9 A.M. the Tashi Lama and his party left Rawalpindi with a view to visit successively Agra, Benares, Budh-Gaya and Calcutta, and later on Puri and Bhuvanesvara.

IX.—TASHI LAMA AT AGRA.

On the 12th December at 6 P.M. the Tashi Lama and his party on their return journey from Rawalpindi arrived at Agra *via* Delhi and Cawnpur and put up in the Hotel Metropolis. On the 13th December at 10 A.M. His Holiness visited the beautiful mausoleum, the poem in stone and in marble, a lovely

* Chief of the Kiani Ga-Khars, Hazara, Panjab. Was made Khan Bahadur. Died 18th November 1906.

dream, Tajmahal, erected by Shah Jahan in 1630 A.D. over the earthly clay of his beloved Queen Mum-taz-mahal. The lover's lament is embodied in this magnificent edifice. The mausoleum, which is situated on the right bank of the river Jamuna, encloses also the remains of Shah Jahan. His Holiness next visited the Fort of Agra, which was built during the reign of Akbar in 1571 A.D. Many of the picturesque buildings now existing in the Fort were, however, subsequently built by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. On the next day His Holiness paid visits to various other architectural marvels :—for instance, Akbari Masjid in the Kinari Bazaar ; Masjid of Motamid Khan, Treasurer of Jahangir, in the Kasimiri Bazaar ; the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra ; the mausoleum of Itimad-ud-daulah on the left bank of the river Jamuna close to the pontoon bridge, etc., all of which bear eloquent testimony to the lasting glory of the Mahomedan Emperors, especially of the Great Moguls.

His Holiness next visited the Palace of Shah Jahan built of red coloured sandstone variegated here and there with plastered brickwork. Beyond this is the handsome white marble building inlaid inside with mosaic, and crowded with pillars and arches called the "Diwan-khas." A few yards to the north of the Diwan-khas is the black marble throne of Jahangir. Towards the northern side of the palace of Shah Jahan are the Hamams or Royal Baths. Immediately to the west of the palace of Shah Jahan is the Great Diwan-Am, or public hall of audience, which is now used as an armoury. Immediately to the north of this Diwan-Am is a little white-marble three-domed masjid called the "Nagina Masjid," which was built by Shah Jahan for the use of the ladies of his Court. Matimasjid, which

was completed in 1655 A.D., is situated to the north-west of the palace of Shah Jahan. The Tashi Lama and his retinue were enraptured with joy in visiting various other magnificent buildings of the time of Aurungzebe and other Mussulman monarchs. They were only sad to find that there was no Buddhistic shrine in the grand city of Agra, which so richly holds out the charms of storied and poetical associations.

On the 15th December at 9 A.M. the Tashi Lama and his party left Agra.

X.—VISIT TO BENARES AT SARNATH.

The Tashi Lama, accompanied by Captain O'Connor, C.I.E., Captain Steen, I.M.S., Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, M.A., Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim, Mr. Laden La, and others arrived at Benares on the 16th December 1905 at 6 A.M., and were accommodated in Hotel-de-Paris. The party visited the Buddhist ruins at Sarnath, four miles north of Benares, at 11 A.M. the same day. Sarnath is so-called because Buddha in one of his previous births was born here as King of Deer. Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana pointed out the tower now called Dhamek, which stands on the spot where Buddha established his *Dharma Chakra* (Tibetan : Choi-kyi-khorlo), that is, for the first time preached his religion to the five Brahmins who had formerly been his attendants. Around this tower, stupa or choi-ten, the Tashi Lama burnt three maunds of clarified butter, lighted nearly three hundred lamps, scattered flowers and torma-cakes in abundance and uttered prayers in adoration of Buddha for more than an hour. After circumambulating the tower several times, the Tashi Lama himself assumed the form of Buddha, while other Lamas and laymen worshipped him

instead of the tower. Then the party visited other sacred spots in the vicinity of the Dhamek tower. At the north-east stands the village of Varahi, so-called from the Buddhist goddess Vajra-varahi (Tibetan : Dorje-phagmo), whose incarnation is the abbess of the monastery of Samding in Central Tibet. To the west lies the village of Guronpur, which was the residence of numerous Buddhist priests and teachers. Nearly 520 feet to the west of Dhamek there is a stupa where Buddha's nail-bones were deposited by the Emperor Asoka. A little to the north of Dhamek there lie the ruins of a stupa, where Buddha Sakyamuni delivered his prediction concerning the coming Buddha called Maitreya (Tibetan : Byema-pa). A little beyond this there is a stupa where Elapatra Nag, the King of Snakes, listened to the sermon of Buddha and was emancipated from his dragon form. After visiting other sacred spots and bowing down before the Buddhist image in the new Buddhist Rest House, the Lama and his suite left Sarnath at 5 P.M. The Lama was presented by the Government of India with two mutilated stone images of Buddha, which, together with other things, have lately been excavated* there. Benares is a very sacred place to the Buddhists, for it was here that Buddha revealed the doctrine of sorrow, and pointed out the path leading to its cessation ; and it was here that he chanted for the first time the formula of Three Protections.

On the 17th December, between 8 A.M. and 11 A.M., the Lama and his party journeyed a few miles by boats down the Ganges and took a view of the whole town. At the mouth of the river Asi (Tibetan : Gnodpa-zan) the Lama looked at the spot where Buddha converted

* Regarding these excavations, the reader is asked to read an article on Sarnath, published in the *Pioneer* in February 1907.

to his religion the rich merchant named Yasa (Tibetan : Gragspa) and his four friends named respectively Purna (Gang-po), Vimala (Drimed), Gavampati (Balang-bdag) and Subahu (Lag-bzangs). His Holiness was particularly interested in looking at the Hindu burning ghats on the banks of the Ganges where some dead bodies were being burnt. He gave a gold coin to some Hindu sanyasis or houseless ascetics who were at that time performing their worship on the riverside. At 11 A.M. His Holiness returned from the riverside to the Hotel-de-Paris riding on an elephant. In the night at about 9 P.M. His Holiness witnessed a bioscopic exhibition in the Hotel.

On the 18th December 1905 at noon Captain O'Connor, accompanied by the tutor of the Tashi Lama, and Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, went to the Government College at Benares to make a preliminary examination of all the Brahminic-Sanskrit manuscripts, which had been translated into Tibetan at different times between 629 A.D. and 1,400 A.D. Punctually at 4 P.M. the Tashi Lama, together with his Minister, the Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim and others, visited the College and examined various Sanskrit manuscripts such as those of Kali Das's Meghduta, Udayanacharya's Atmatattva Viveka, Dandi's Kabyadarsan, Amarkosha, etc., which had been laid on the table for him. Regarding the Tibetan version of Atmatattva Viveka His Holiness said that he understood every word of the book, but could not properly grasp a single sentence of it. Then there was some discussion about a certain verse of the Meghduta in which His Holiness the Tashi Lama, his tutor, Captain O'Connor, Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, Mr. A. Venis, Principal of the Benares

College, Mahamahopadhyā Gangadhar Sastri, C.I.E., Mahamahopadhyā Kailash Chandra Siromāni and others took part. After visiting the College His Holiness and suite attended the Garden Party arranged by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares in the College premises. The Maharaj-Kumar of Benares and the Maharaja's Aide-des-Camp, who had warmly received the Lama at the entrance of the College premises, were all attention to His Holiness during his stay there.

XI.—TASHI LAMA AT BUDH-GAYA.

The Tashi Lama and his suite left Benares at 10 P.M. on the 18th December and arrived at Budh-Gaya on the 19th December at 8 A.M., and became guests of the Mahanta, who entertained them right royally. From the railway station at Gaya to the Buddhist shrine at Budh-Gaya, a distance of some eight miles, the party travelled in procession with elephants and bands. On nearing Budh-Gaya the Lama was met by the merchants of Gaya and was conducted by him to the Mahanta's guest house, where he was lodged during his stay.

On the 20th December, Captain O'Connor, accompanied by Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, and the tutor and Minister of the Tashi Lama, made a preliminary inspection of the sacred sites in Budh-Gaya.

The Tashi Lama offered his worship to the Bodhi-tree and the image of Buddha on 21st December, which was a most auspicious day according to the Tibetan calendar. Punctually at 8 A.M., His Holiness, seated in a sedan-chair, came to the temple and getting down in a spirit of utmost reverence slowly entered the innermost sanctuary and bowing down before the great image took up his seat, while along with him numerous learned Lamas uttered prayers and repeated hymns in adoration.

of the supremely enlightened One. The face of the image was decorated with gold, and spots of rice, fruits and flowers were placed in lines on the walls of the temple; *torma* and *shal-ga* cakes were scattered in abundance, innumerable incense sticks were burnt and twenty thousand lamps lighted.

After nearly an hour, the Tashi Lama came out of the temple, exchanged his dress for a tattered yellow garment and sat in meditation on the Vajrasana under the Bodhi-tree for 3 hours, from 9 A.M. to 12 A.M., while his numerous devotees stood round him in deep silence. Just at noon he opened his eyes and received from his followers valuable presents, consisting of silken scarfs and robes, jewels and precious stones, gold and silver, rice and fruits, and several other things. It was at the solicitation of the Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim that His Holiness said prayers for the good of the world and specially for those who were standing round him.

Amongst those who were present on this unique occasion and to whom the Lama gave return presents of scarfs were Captain O'Connor, C.I.E., Captain R. Steen, I.M.S., Captain H. B. Steen, I.M.S., Mr. Perceval Landon, the historian of the Tibetan expedition, Professor Satis Chandra Acharyya Vidyabhusana, M.A., the Japanese Military Attaché, Major Hayashi, and a gentleman from Ceylon named Gunavardhana.

At 1 o'clock His Holiness went back to his quarters, followed by numerous Buddhists of Tibet, Sikkim, Bengal, Ceylon, Burma, Japan and Shan States, who had all been assembled together to catch a glimpse of this earthly incarnation of the celestial Amitabha.

Later in the day His Holiness ordained several candidates for priesthood, while other senior priests shaved their heads in token of re-ordination under the

sacred tree. Numerous Buddhists prostrated themselves on the ground around the temple, and licked the dust while others dyed their cloths on the stone that bears the footprint of the Buddha. The scene was sufficient to recall the India of Asoka.

On the 22nd December, the Tashi Lama visited the Burmese Rest House containing the images of a Burmese and a Japanese Buddha, and walked round the various sacred spots around the Bodhi-tree. Just in front of it on the eastern side lies the stupa where the siren daughters of Mara (Satan) endeavoured to practise their charms on the great Teacher, but were immediately changed by his spiritual powers into ugly and decrepid old hags.

On the southern side, there lies a stupa where Brahma solicited Buddha to preach his doctrine and open the gates of immortality. Still to the south is a tank which was created by Indra and where Buddha bathed immediately after acquiring enlightenment. On the north there is a spot where Buddha walked up and down and where lotus flowers sprang up under the consecrated touch of his feet. To the south of the tank lies the village of Mocharin, where Mochalinda, the King of Snakes, seven times encircled the body of the Blessed One with his windings, and kept extending his large hood over the Blessed One's head, saying to himself, " May no coldness touch the Blessed One. May no heat touch the Blessed One. May no vexation by gadflies and gnats, by storms and sun heat and reptiles touch the Blessed One." To the north-west lies a village where Sujata prepared for Buddha a delicious milk soup which he took in a crystal vase adorned with jewels, which two gods of the Akanishtha heaven had brought for him.

On the west lies a great basement on the stones of which Buddha washed his robes. A little to the

south-east is a stupa where a tooth relic of Buddha was deposited by King Asoka. To the north-east lies the temple of the Buddhists' Tantrik goddess, Tara or Dolna, on the walls of which there are carved figures of Vaja-Chairava, the terrific guardian of Tantric Buddhism. There is also a temple of Manjughosha which now passes under the name of that of Vagisvari Devi. To the north-west lies Mount Gaya, on which Buddha delivered some of his important sermons. There are numerous other relics and votive stupas which adorn Budh-Gaya. In short the whole neighbourhood is full of wonderfully distinct and well preserved remains. The very atmosphere is surcharged with Buddhist associations.

XII.—AT PRAGBODHI.

On the 23rd (between 7 A.M. and 3 P.M.) the Tashi Lama and his suite visited the cave of Pragbodhi, six miles to the north-east of Budh-Gaya. When Buddha, after seeking enlightenment for six years, could not obtain supreme wisdom in Budh-Gaya, he went out in a depressed spirit to the north-east and passed a few days on Mount Pragbodhi. But he was told by the Devas that the earth would quake and gape there, and that it was not the fortunate spot for obtaining supreme wisdom. So he came back to the Bodhi-tree on the banks of the Niranjana in Budh-Gaya. Pragbodhi is a precipitous hill, in a cave of which is a Tantric Buddhist goddess of the mild type; and on the top of which there are remains of five stupas erected by Asoka to signalize the spots on which Buddha walked. Within a few miles round this hill there lived the three Kasyapas in whose fire-house Buddha subdued the snakes and performed various miracles.

At 1-30 P.M. the party left Pragbodhi and after visiting the Niranjana or Phalgu river came back to Budh-Gaya at 3 P.M.

On the 24th December His Holiness received offerings from four devotees named Charan Dass and others, who had come from Kulu in the Kashmir Frontier near Ladak.

XIII.—IN CALCUTTA AND DEPARTURE.

The Tashi Lama left Budh-Gaya at 10 A.M. on the 25th December and reached Howrah by special train on the 26th at 7-30 A.M. During his stay in Calcutta he lived at Hastings House and took part in all the public events in connection with the Prince of Wales's visit at the metropolis. On the 11th January 1906, His Holiness left Calcutta for Darjeeling whence he proceeded to Tashi-lhumpo. His plan of visiting Puri and Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa was not carried out.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Art. III.—KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.

WHEN the Britishers settled in Bengal, they were not anxious to impart to the sons of the soil. English education, or any education, we learn from the old files of the *Friend of India*, that when the question of affording general instruction to the Natives of India, for the first time, came before the Court of Directors, in 1792, it was received with marked disfavour. One of the Directors uttered the following remarkable sentences :—

“ That one of the leading and most efficient causes of the separation of America from Great Britain, as the mother country, was the founding of colleges and establishing seminaries for education in the different provinces. . . . Sound policy dictated that we should in the case of India avoid and steer clear of the rock we had split upon in the case of America.”

In those days, when the English people devoted themselves principally to commercial pursuits and the collection of revenue, they found occupation enough without interfering in the actual management of provinces. To the mass of the people the change of Government brought no foreign usages or customs. The Law Courts were left to the *Satraps* of Moorshidabad as before. Mahomedan law and Mahomedan lawyers still reigned supreme, and a knowledge of Persian literature remained an indispensable qualification for official distinction and success as it had ever been under the Subadars. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, after abolishing the *dual* system of government, founded in 1780, for keeping up a regular supply of learned Moulavis and Kazees, the

Calcutta Madrassah—the first educational institution on European model. The attention of the Government was at about this time drawn towards the improvement of Oriental languages. A college at Benares was founded four years later for Sanskrit education, which was followed by one in Calcutta. The desire of making money served as a great incentive to English education, as Persian education was sought for under the Mahomedan administration. Private schools were started for English education, but they were of little or no use for the development of mind. Men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Gopee Mohan Deb, Ram Komal Sen, etc., were confederated into a band, whose great intellects and energies, like the highest mountain-tops, catching the first rays of the rising sun, grasped and realised at once the incalculable advantages which would ensue to their country and their countrymen from the introduction of Western literature, sciences, and arts. The great Raja, although himself a Sanskrit scholar, submitted an appeal to Lord Amherst "for a more liberal and enlightened system of education embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful knowledges." In 1817 the Hindoo College was opened under the auspices of some Indian and European gentlemen, foremost of whom were Sir Hyde East, David Hare and H. H. Wilson. The light which had first illuminated the tops of the mountains descended on the plains and penetrated the deepest valleys and lowest rice fields. The youthful band of reformers, who had been educated in the Hindoo College, soon became leaders of the country, and all the social, political, religious, and literary reforms of Bengal are due to them. With the exception of a few famous men, such as Pundit Issur Chandra Vidyasagar,

Akhoy Coomar Dutt, Issur Chandra Gupta, and some others, *reformers* of Calcutta meant the students of the Hindoo College. Kissory Chand Mittra was one of the foremost among this band.

Kissory Chand Mittra was born on the 26th May 1822 at 20, Nimtola Ghat Street. In his boyhood he was placed under a *gooroo mohasaya* in a *patsala* held at his house. As then good vernacular books were scarce, he was brought up according to the old system. He was not very successful in mastering his mother tongue. Kissory Chand was afterwards placed in the charge of a *moonshee*, but he failed in picking up a knowledge of the Persian language.

Since the passing of Lord Macaulay's famous minutes (in March 1835) every opulent Hindoo thought it better to train his sons in English as an accomplishment. Kissory Chand's father, Ram Narian, therefore did not consider it worth his while to impart Oriental education to Kissory Chand. His brother, Peary Chand, had a morning free school at his house named the "Hindoo Benevolent Institution," where Kissory Chand learnt the rudiments of English. In this institution, Peary Chand was headmaster, and Raj Kissen Mittra, Shib Chandra Deb, and Gobind Chunder Bysack were honorary teachers. David Hare, H. L. V. Derozio, and D'Ausdem used to take a lively interest in this school, frequently visiting and examining the boys and distributing prizes to the most meritorious among them. Kissory Chand was thus brought to the notice of Derozio and Hare, and the latter, a true friend of Native Education, pressed the father to send the young lad to his own school.

Kissory Chand was admitted in Mr. Hare's School in 1834. There within a brief period he made marked

progress and won prizes almost every year. David Hare was in the habit of enquiring into the character and progress of every boy in his school. Active intelligent, well disposed, and of retentive memory, Kissory Chand devoted himself most earnestly to his books, and benefited largely from the training he received from Mr Hare. He was then transferred to the Hindoo College, which was considered the highest institution in Bengal. Kissory Chand remained in the college for eight years. Among his class mates may be mentioned Peary Churn Sirkar, Michael Modhu Sooden Dutt, Raj Narian Bose, Roma Prosad Roy, Rajendra Dutt, Bhola Nath Chunder, Gnanendra Mohan Tagore, and others. He was deficient in Mathematics. He tried his best to make it up, but was not successful. This damped his spirit a little. Kissory successfully studied literature under Captain D. L. Richardson. His Essay at an annual examination held at Government House was read by Bishop Wilson, and he received prizes at several annual examinations which brought him to the notice of Sir Edwin Ryan, the then Chief Justice of Bengal. (He was also connected with a free school at Simla as one of its honorary teachers, which was patronised by Sir Edwin Ryan.) About this time he married the daughter of Gora Chand Ghose, by whom he left a daughter.

Kissory Chand left College in 1842. He was at this time full of noble aspirations, and was animated with the sincere desire of doing as much good as he could to his countrymen. As an illustration of this, we may mention that for some time he gratuitously taught for some hours every week in the newly formed Dr. Duff's school.

On 1st June 1842 David Hare, the Father of Native Education, died, deeply regretted by every

educated Indian. A memorial meeting was held on 17th June with Baboo Prosonno Coomar Tagore as chairman. Kissory Chand spoke in this meeting and was a member of the committee to further its objects.

The "Bengal Spectator" was started at about this time. It was a diglot paper and jointly edited by Tara Chand Chakrabatty and Peary Chand Mittra. Ram Gopal Ghose, Govind Chunder Bysack, Russic Krishna Mullick, Radha Nath Sikdar, K. M. Bannerjee and Kissory Chand Mittra were regular contributors to that paper. Kissory Chand had a happy knack of imitating the authors he read, and in the "Bengal Spectator" his articles showed that he had caught the spirit of Channing. Kissory Chand continued to make marked progress in English literature and composition. His association with Dr. Duff roused him to the study of Natural Theology, and he established at his house a society, called the "Hindoo Theophilanthropic Society." The Society was inaugurated on the 10th February 1843 by Kissory Chand and some educated Bengalees assembled for the purpose of considering the best means for promoting the moral and religious elevation of their countrymen. In the preface to the discourses read at the meetings of this Society, its object is thus enunciated : "The Society aims at the extermination of Hindoo idolatry, and the dissemination of sound and enlightened views of the Supreme Being, of the unseen and future world, of truth, of happiness, and final beatitude. It proposes to teach the Hindoos to worship God in *Spirit* and in *truth* and to enforce those moral and most sacred duties which they owe to their Maker, to their fellow beings, and to themselves." The Society used to hold monthly meetings, at which

discourses in English and Bengalee were delivered. The subjects embraced by the discourses related to the nature and attributes of the deity and to general principles in morals and religion. The other means adopted by the Society for the attainment of its objects, were the preparation and publication of Bengalee tracts on moral and religious subjects, and the reprinting of Sanskrit and Bengalee works illustrating the same. The monthly meetings* were attended and addressed by earnest and representative men of different classes, such as Dr. Duff, the Rev. K. M. Bannerjee, Baboos Ukhoy Coomar Dutt, Ram Gopal Ghose, Peary Chand Mittta, Issur Chunder Gupta and Kissory Chand, the Secretary. The nature and aims of the institution were thus explained at length in the inaugural discourse of the Secretary : "The Society aims at the extermination of Hindoo idolatry and the dissemination of sound and elevated views of God, Futurity, Truth and Happiness. Though it is established for the purpose of promoting moral and religious culture irrespective of any revealed form, and only by the study of the duties and destinies of man as *revealed* by his constitution and of the power, wisdom and goodness of God as manifested in nature, still its basis is broad and unexceptionable enough to admit the cordial co-operation of every good man, no matter to what creed he may belong. The existence of God is the first dogma of the Hindoo Philanthropist, and the immortality of the soul is the second. The dogmas of the Hindoo Theophilanthropist are those upon which all sects—Christians, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Chinese,—are agreed, and the name they have taken expresses the

* The reader is recommended to read the admirable review of this Society in the "Calcutta Review," Nos. 3 and 5.

double end of all religionists, that of leading, namely, to love towards God and men."

The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was established in 1839, with David Hare as Honorary Visitor and Peary Chand Mittra and Ram Tonu Lahiri as Honorary Secretaries. The names of almost all the educated natives were on the roll of its members, among whom we find Kissory Chand taking an active part. Of his essays on *Truth* and *The Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Educated Natives* the Society in its Report remarked thus : While the Committee of papers on behalf of the Society beg to tender their best thanks to the authors of the discourses delivered during the last year, they deem it due to some of the papers enumerated above, especially those on Matter,* on Truth and on "The Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Educated Natives," to say that they exhibit much talent. At about this time his father, Ram Narian, died, on 26th October 1842.

Kissory Chand was the founder of the Hare Anniversary Meetings. Through his exertions, the first meeting was convened at his house, No. 20, Nimtola Ghat Street, on the 1st June 1843. A Committee was appointed with Kissory Chand as Secretary. This office he held for some time with credit. Though he was compelled to resign in 1846, he had in his heart its objects. Many and long were the discourses he delivered at these meetings.

At the 19th Anniversary he delivered a discourse on the "Hindoo College and its Founder." At the 21st Anniversary Meeting he delivered a discourse on the "Medical College and its first Secretary." At the 27th Anniversary he read the "Life of Dwarkanath

* By Gnanendra Mohan Tagore.

"Tagore," of which the *Calcutta Review* justly observed in 1870 :—“Kissory Chand Mittra has done good service to his country by the memoirs which he has published from time to time (some of them in this *Review*) of the more prominent members of Bengal Society during the past few years. The last half century* has witnessed extraordinary progress in Bengal, and history demands that the exertions of the men to whom the present state of things is due, and the part which each took in bringing it about, shall be faithfully chronicled for the edification of future ages. And our chronicler is by no means unequal to the task before him. His labour is obviously a labour of love. Himself belonging to the most advanced section of Hindoo Society, and gifted with a marvellous command of the English language, he is well able to depict in glowing colours the obligations which the present generation lies under to those early pioneers in the cause of progress and enlightenment. His memoirs here and there (particularly in the description of Dwarka Nath's first voyage to England) smack of the Boswellian flavour.”

Mr. John Clarke Marshman wrote of the book in his “Friend of India,” as follows : “.... It is many days since we read a book more calculated to do good: It ought to be to India what the works of Smiles are to England. It is grandly catholic; above all the hasty bickerings of sects and parties, and recognising the greater brotherhood of all mankind. It ought to be worth anything to India, and for our part, we give it the heartiest welcome we can give to anything, and wish for it the truest success.”

After leaving College, Kissory Chand got an

* Meaning the first half of the 19th century.

appointment under Mr. Alexander, the Legal Remembrancer. Subsequently he became an assistant to Mr. Theobold, the Secretary to the East Indian Railway. This post was given up. He then began to accompany Babu Hara Chandra Ghose, the Principal Sudder Amin of 24-Parganas, to Alipur, to have an insight into the administration of Mofussil justice. Thus he acquired some judicial knowledge. Having leisure, he connected himself with the *Bengal Hurkaru*, as one of its paid contributors. While he was thus engaged, Mr. Henry Torrens asked Peary Chand Mittra to recommend him a competent man for the Assistant Secretaryship to the Asiatic Society. Peary Chand recommended his brother, Kissory Chand, who was accordingly appointed. Here he found work congenial to his tastes, and his services were appreciated by the Secretary and the Council of the Society.

Having a literary turn of mind he wrote an article on the life and character of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the *Calcutta Review*, which was then under the editorship of the Rev. Dr. Duff,—its projector and first editor, Captain (afterwards Sir John William) Kaye, having been obliged to leave the country after the publication of the first three numbers.

This article, the first biography in the English language of a Bengalee was so well written that its perusal completely edified Mr. Halliday, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (afterwards Sir Frederick Halliday) who sent for Kissory Chand's no less renowned brother, the then Librarian of the Calcutta Public Library and offered through him to Kissory Chand a Deputy Magistracy, an appointment which in those days was not as plentiful as blackberries and which carried with it the initial pay of Rs. 400 a month,

an emolument equal to that of a covenanted member of the Civil Service on his first entrance into official life. Kissory Chand resigned the Assistant Secretarship and joined the appointment at Nattore in the district of Rajshahye.

The five years and odd months, during which Kissory Chand held the Deputy Magistracy of Nattore, we are disposed to consider as the most useful and the most brilliant period of his life. A highly educated Native gentleman, with liberal views, wide sympathies and lofty aspirations, was placed in charge of one of the most backward districts in the country. Here was an opportunity, not accorded to many, to show his abilities to the best advantage, and to promote the welfare of the people among whom his lot was cast. Kissory Chand did not miss the opportunity. From the beginning he threw himself, heart and soul, into the work of improving the district. As Subdivisional Officer he set a noble example for other and future generations of Deputy Magistrates to follow. He soon became the most influential man in the zillah; and he used his influence in doing good to the people. Here he came into intimate contact with the principal European and Native residents of the district. He had the good fortune of enlisting the confidence of both sections of the community. Although an official by position he became the virtual leader of the local community, and was chiefly instrumental in establishing both boys' and girls' schools, dispensaries and hospitals, and making roads and opening tanks, through the liberality principally of the munificent zemindar of Dighapatia, the late Raja Prosanna Nauth Roy, who was greatly indebted to him for the title which the Government was pleased to confer upon him. Prosanna Nauth, the

adopted son of Pran Nath Roy, infused new blood into the family and proved himself an extraordinary man, achieving for himself the most conspicuous position among the contemporaneous zemindars and Rajas, and standing out from them as a singularly liberal and benevolent representative of the nobility of Bengal.

This educated zemindar as well as the Commissioner, the Judge, the Magistrate, and the Civil Surgeon heartily supported Kissory Chand in his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people and frequently visited him in his station.

The first act of Kissory Chand was a proposal to the Ferry Fund Committee for making a carriage road from Dighapatia to Boaleah. While the proposition was under consideration Prosanna Nauth came forward with an offer to Kissory Chand for defraying the entire expenses of the road.

In 1851 a school was established at Nattore by Kissory Chand. He used to pay all its costs. It was afterwards amalgamated with the Prosanna Nauth Academy, which was inaugurated on the 24th January 1852. There was a large gathering of the European and Native gentry of the District on the occasion. Kissory Chand having been voted to the chair, delivered a speech eulogising the charitable disposition of the young zemindar.

A Charitable Dispensary at Nattore was founded by Kissory Chand in 1849. At the first annual meeting, Dr. J. R. Bedford, who presided, pointed out the institutions founded by Kissory Chand and compared him to the "Man of Roses." At the second annual meeting Dr. Bedford, as Superintendent of the Dispensary, addressed a letter to Kissory Chand as Secretary to that institution. In the letter the learned Doctor wrote :—

"You have the proud satisfaction of feeling that you are in advance in that mighty social change which is now working in Hindoostan, and that the wheel of progress has received one of its earliest impulses from your hand." In Rajshahye his name is still remembered, and will be for a long time remembered, with gratitude and affection.

In 1852 he was transferred to the Subdivision of Jehanabad, which was considered a prize station. There, as at Nattore, he won the golden opinions of his official superiors. But although he distinguished himself as an intelligent and conscientious officer, he had not the same opportunity as in Rajshahye to carry out measures of reform and improvement, owing, chiefly, to the circumstance that in that subdivision of Hooghly district he did not obtain the co-operation of rich and influential zamindars.

The zeal and assiduity with which he had discharged his official duties both at Nattore and Jehanabad, and the intelligent interest he had shown in the welfare of the people, were so conspicuous as to attract the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Halliday. Roy Hara Chunder Ghose Bahadur was appointed a Judge of the Small Cause Court, in consequence of the death of Rasamoy Dutt in 1854. Sir Frederick, considering the valuable services which Kissory Chand had rendered, not only as a Deputy Magistrate, but as a citizen, stimulating and inspiring every intelligent person to do good to the country by means of education, medicine, development of agriculture, and promotion of inter-communication, made up his mind to confer on Kissory Chand, an officer of only eight years standing, the appointment of junior Magistrate of Calcutta as a prize which he was richly entitled to. This appointment took the public some-

what by surprise, and many officers in the service were even dissatisfied as their claims were overlooked. But the abilities and talents which the Lieutenant-Governor had early discovered amply justified the selection. For, if there be any official, who by self-abnegation, disinterested love and fellow feeling, could create an abiding impression on the people, that official was Kissory Chand. We would turn away from the Police Court and would rather dwell a little on Kissory Chand as a literary man than on Kissory Chand as a Government officer.

Kissory Chand pursued literature with the earnestness of a professional man, though it was not the means of his livelihood. Literature was his passport to distinction, and his pastime throughout his life. He left no class of subjects untried. Biography, theology, law, politics, sociology, agriculture, all received his attention. As we have already said, Kissory Chand commenced his literary life with writing for the *Calcutta Review*. For that *Review*, which he regarded as his first literary love, he retained an ardent affection which lasted through the whole of his life. He contributed the following articles to the *Review* :—

1. Ram Mohan Roy,
Vol. IV.
2. do. (another article),
Vol. XLIV.
3. Hindoo Women,
Vol. X.
4. Phases of Hindooism,
Vol. XL, 1864.
5. Agriculture and Agricultural Exhibition in
Bengal,
Vol. XL, 1865.

6. Orissa, Past and Present,
Vol. XLIV.
7. Radha Kant Deb,
Vol. XLV.
8. Ram Gopal Ghose,
Vol. XLVI, 1868.
9. Burdwan Raj,
Vol. LIV, 1872.
10. Nadiya Raj,
Vol. LV, 1872.
11. Rajas of Rajshaye,
Vol. LVI, 1873.
12. Kassimbazar Raj,
Vol. LVII, 1873.
14. Kandy House,
Vol. LVIII, 1874.

As for his style of writing we cannot help quoting from an article which the Rev. Lal Behary De wrote in the Bengal Magazine in September 1873.

"Kissory Chand Mittra belonged to a class of educated Bengalees whose number is daily diminishing—pre-University men, who were, somehow, men of wider culture than the graduates of the Calcutta University, of a more refined taste, more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of English literature, and more addicted to literary pursuits. Strange that our colleges, which are now supplied with Honour-men from Oxford and Cambridge, should turn out inferior articles! The result is perhaps owing to the system of education in vogue, a system the chief object of which seems to be to cram young lads with grammatical niceties or rather puerilities with sapless etymological roots, with 'notes' which are current only in the University market, with 'abstracts' from which the spirit of the author has evaporated, and we know not what 'paraphrases' and 'moderised versions.' The pre-University men enjoyed English literature; the young men of the present day endure it. Nothing is studied except what pays in the Examination Hall. No marvel that learning is not loved for its own sake.

Kissory Chand wrote correct and manly English,—a style which one insensibly acquires by a constant study of the works of Addison, Johnson, Macaulay, and other masters of English composition. His earlier compositions, like those of most young writers, were somewhat wordy; but age sobered his taste and made his style simple; and the last article he wrote on the 'Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal,' published in the current number of the *Calcutta Review*, is simple even to baldness. Among the hundreds of educated Bengalees who write in English for

the press, there are only a few who manage that difficult language with correctness and elegance. Of these few, Kissory Chand was one of the best."

Mr. Buckland in his *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors* wrote :—" Possessed of rich stores of knowledge of western literature and master of a good English style, he was reckoned as one of the best English writers among his countrymen. His addresses at various public meetings were noted for their ability and fearless independence of spirit."

We have already alluded to his life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The style of the article was so good that the *editor* in a subsequent issue assured his reader that the article was a *bonâ-fide* production from a native gentleman's pen.

He established the Social Reform Association about this time for discussing social questions like Widow marriage, Female education, Kulin Polygamy, etc. Men of the highest reputation in the city used to attend the Association and warmly joined in the discussions. Kissory Chand took a leading part in these discussions, in fact, he was the main stay and prop of the Association. The Venerable *pundit* Vidyasagar in his book *Polygamy* says, that Kissory Chand was the prime mover for the suppression of polygamy since as early as 1842 Kissory Chand petitioned the Government to pass an act to stop this system.

Kissory Chand was a man of independent spirit. Kowtowing to official superiors was foreign to his nature. Accustomed to do what was right he did not care to please his superiors, like the Baboos of olden times, by long salaaming, presentation, cringing servility, and adulmentation. Unlike the great-great-grandfather of old days who never approached an Englishman without bending his body at an angle of forty-five

degrees and without uttering a thousand agreeable falsehoods to please the Englishman's fancy, Kissory Chand disdained to stoop to such humiliation, and claimed for himself the equality that ought to exist between man and man. He performed his duties conscientiously with justice and discretion, no matter where he gave offence. For some years he filled the bench with great credit to himself, but in an unfortunate moment he quarrelled with Mr. S. Wauchope, B.C. S., then head of the Calcutta police. At about this time a meeting, most respectably and numerously attended, was held at the Town Hall on the 6th April 1857 for petitioning for the extension of the Criminal Jurisdiction of the Moffusil Courts. Kissory Chand (still in service !) in seconding the first Resolution vehemently attacked the European officials. It also transpired that Mr. George Thomson, M. P. the famous political agitator who came to India twice stayed at Kissory Chand's garden house at Paikpara. All this offended the officials much. At last a flaw was found, Kissory Chand was charged with having made interpolations in the deposition of witnesses examined by him. A Committee, consisting of Mr. Hinde, Baboo Hara Chandra Ghose and Mr. Ferguson, was appointed to enquire into his conduct. The result was, the earthen pot, as Kristo Dass Paul wrote in the *Hindoo Patriot*, shared the fate which usually attends a collision with the brass kettle.

Kissory Chand bore this misfortune resignedly. A career which was begun under such brilliant auspices, and which was so full of promise, was thus cut short. But Kissory Chand endured with a wonderful elasticity of mind. An ordinary man would have sunk under the weight of the grief caused by the sad termination of such a brilliant official career, but he had that in him

which admirably sustained him through the trials and vicissitudes of life. He lost his appointment but not his talents. Deprived of the official outlet for his high abilities and talents, he dedicated them to the service of his country in the fields of literature and politics. Freed from the cares and turmoils of Government service, he had enough time at his command, and connected himself with the *Indian Field*. When Mr. Hume, its editor, retired in 1859, Kissory Chand was chosen to fill the chair, and his wrath against the Government now found full vent in the columns of that paper. Under his able editorship, the circulation of the paper increased rapidly, containing, as it did, many of his telling articles, among which we find "Chaitaniya," "the Ryot and the Zemindar," Moffusil Police (1860) "Mutinies, Government and the people" (1858), etc., etc. Kissory Chand conducted it for several years with considerable ability, when his failing health led him to give it up and incorporate it with the *Hindoo Patriot*.

Kissory Chand was one of the oldest members of the Bethune Society. Here also, as in every other institution, he took a leading part in the discussions, and was a valuable acquisition to this Society, as a member. At a meeting of the Society, held at the theatre of the Medical College on the 11th December 1862, under the presidency of Dr. Duff, Kissory Chand delivered an able lecture on "Hindoo Women and their connection with the improvement of their country." The then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, was present. He highly eulogised the lecture, and expressed a wish that it should be published for the benefit of the public. Besides the one mentioned above, he also read papers on (1) Agriculture, on 10th March 1864; - (2) Lessons

commanded the attention and applause of the meeting. The following are some of his important discourses :—

- (1) At a meeting in honor of Sir John Peter Grant on 16th April 1859.
- (2) To address Sir Charles Wood, M. P., in 1863.
- (3) To vote thanks to Mr. Fawcett, M. P., and the electors of Brighton on 26th November 1872.
- (4) To do honor to the memory of Prosonno-Kumar Tagore on 29th October 1868.
- (5) Education and Roadcess Question 2nd September 1868.
- (6) To do honor to the memory of Ram Gopal Ghose on 22nd February 1868.
- (7) To do honor to the memory of Hurris Chandra Mukherjee on 12th January 1861.
- (8) Permanent Settlement Question on 3rd April 1871.
- (9) To do honor to the memory of Raja Sir Radha Kant Deb in 14th May 1867.

Kissory Chand was a fearless advocate of his country's interests. Whether in the newspaper columns or in the committee rooms of the British Indian Association or in the Town Hall he never shrunk from speaking out on any subject, however his sentiments and expressions might prove offensive to the powers that be.

Mr. James Routledge in his *English Rule in India* writes, "as a Hindoo he was one of the most fearless I ever met, and I could see, though I only met him twice, one of the most scornful of all unworthy cringing to Europeans. He belonged to a brave little band of native men in Calcutta whom no Government can well afford to neglect, and whom no wise Government would wish to neglect."

He had a ready wit and fine delivery and his speeches, though sometimes smelling of the lamp, were generally effective. The best speech he made was the one he delivered at the Non-Exemption Meeting at the Town Hall in 1857. To satisfy the reader we quote below a few lines from it :—

I further maintain, and my opinion is supported by ten years' experience, that the exemption of British subjects from the Moffusil Courts, operates most prejudicially on the interests of the great mass of natives, and is in fact, a gross and grievous wrong to them. It is tantamount to irresponsibility to law, and impunity to crime on the part of the privileged few, and to denial of justice to the subject many; will any man tell me that natives are under the same protection as British subjects, so long as the latter are amenable to another law, and triable by the Supreme Court only?

* * * * *

While I admit all the defects of the Judicial and Police establishments, I cannot acknowledge the justice of exempting from their operation a small section, consisting of persons who settle in the Moffusil for their own advantage, of their own free will, and not of compulsion. I repeat, I see no reason why those persons would be exempted any more than the Hindoos, and Mohamedans, Frenchmen, and Germans, Americans and Russians. If the courts are good enough for the millions of India, they should be good enough for a "small body of dominant men." "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," why, our British fellow-subjects are ready enough to invoke the protection of the courts when their indigo is damaged by trespassing cattle or other cause. Why should they then repudiate the same courts when they are charged with forcing the cultivation of indigo? They would work them freely and frequently against the rival zemindar, or the defaulting ryot. Why should they then ignore them when complained against by the zemindar and the ryot? I do not, Sir, for the life of me, understand why they should avail themselves of the courts when they have anything to gain, but should deny their authority and denounce their decision when they have anything to lose. The exemptionists fall into a serious error, when they suppose that under all circumstances, and at all times, and for their own exclusive advantage, they can import the institutions, laws and privileges of British subjects into the places to which they are attracted solely by the prospect of benefit to themselves. The thing is not only impracticable, but in many cases, were it to take place, it would lead to the practice of the grossest injustice and to the systematic oppression of the natives whose rights are equally entitled to respect. Englishmen sought India—India did not seek Englishmen. The laws of this country are made for tens of millions of the children of the soil, and not for a few hundreds, or a few thousands of the conquering race who may please to cast in their lot in the Moffusil for their advantage. It is for them to balance the probable gains of temporary expatriation against the evils and privations incident to their new sphere of enterprise. It is for them to accommodate themselves to the laws of the new country, and not to demand that Westminster Hall should be translated into every zillah and every pargana."

Mr. W. Cobb Harry wrote in the *Englishman* on the next day that four Mittras* have won the day.

In conversation he was a capital hand *at repartee* and he was so full of pleasing anecdotes and flowing wit that it was a pleasure to hear him at the table. He had a wonderful faculty for imitation, and he would imitate the mannerisms of public men so well that any one hearing him outside a room could hardly make out that the speaker was an imitator. Kissory Chand was an agreeable companion. Amiable, cheerful and communicative, he spread sunshine wherever he went. He was generous to a fault. He was more of a gentleman, in the English sense of that word, than most of his countrymen. In the general intellectual commotion which succeeded the torpor of the age which had gone by, he took a leading part. He had undoubtedly faults, but what man can say that he has no faults. His faults, which he had in common with other men, arose chiefly from his sociable disposition. The *Hindoo Patriot* of the 11th August 1873 said: "One thing, however, must be said of him that whatever his faults he injured only himself and nobody else. As an accomplished writer, a fearless advocate of his country's interests, and a zealous worker, he has left a void, which, we fear, cannot easily be filled up."

As for his charitable disposition and his dealings with his friends we quote the following reminiscences of Bholanath Chunder, the only class-mate of his still living. When Michael Modhoo Sudan Dutta returned from Madras, Kissory Chand was the Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. Michael returned like a true poet without a sixpence in his pocket. One Mr. Tucker,

* The four *Mittras* were Kissory Chand, Degumber, Rajendralala and Peary Chand. They took an active part in the meeting.

choosing to go away from the Police to the Small Cause Court, made room for Michael to be taken in as interpreter by Kissory Chand. Kissory Chand treated Michael in the spirit of a friend and not as a superior. In this Kissory Chand was an honorable exception to most Bengalees in power, who are generally tyrants over their nation.

Kissory Chand was not only well versed in literature, science and philosophy, but also read books concerning agriculture, horticulture and floriculture and made them his favourite studies, thus filling his mind with knowledge of every description. He used to attend the Medical College to hear lectures on botany, and many a medical man still recollects the fact of his sitting by them with a stick in his hand, listening patiently to the lectures which seemed a bore to the embryo-graduates.

Though not a registered Brahmo, he promulgated the teachings of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore. In a public meeting he once humorously declared we are all for the *Adis*, none for the Keshavites !

All these exertions began to tell seriously on his health. He fell sick, and was laid up with dropsy. Doctors were sent for and medicines administered but all proved of no avail. Doctor Rajendra Dutt, the renowned homeopath and a class-mate of Kissory Chand, by his uncommon dexterity, checked the progress of the disease for a short time. Although suffering much from the pains and pangs of disease for the last few months his pen was not idle, he used to dictate several articles for the *Calcutta Review*. The doctor forbade all exposure, but active minds are never at rest. Hearing that a meeting was going to be held at the Calcutta

Public Library, of which he was a proprietor, he attended it, despite the remonstrances of his brother Peary Chand. On his return home, he felt a shivering. Doctor Charles and other medical practitioners attended, but could not afford any relief. They therefore advised the removal of the patient to Calcutta for change, the air being noxious on account of the rainy season. The patient was accordingly removed to Shambazar in a precarious state. During the last stage of his illness, such was his repugnance to medicine that he would take it out of nobody's hands, except those of his brother's, who himself a *chevalier de la plume*, used to guide his tastes and studies. The love which the brothers bore to each other was exemplary. A blood vessel in the brain having been ruptured, the patient grew worse, and his soul was freed from its earthly coil, to hold union and communion with the Almighty Father, on Wednesday, the 6th August 1873, at 11-30 P. M.

After his death, the British Indian Association passed the following Resolution on the 8th September :—

“ That the Committee of the British Indian Association desire to record their unfeigned and profound sorrow at the death of their colleague, Babu Kissory Chand Mittra. This mournful event has deprived the British Indian Association of a most able, energetic and devoted member, and the country of an accomplished public writer and speaker, a zealous champion of the people, and an enlightened and earnest advocate of all matters connected with their intellectual, social and political advancement.”

The story of his life has been briefly told. It will be seen that by sheer dint of his high intellectual attainments and force of character he rose to eminence and

distinction. As a man of letters, a lecturer, and a debater at literary and political gatherings the services rendered by him are varied and variable and deserve the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen. Endowed with some of the choicest qualities of the head and the heart, genial, independent and a devoted worker in the cause of his country, he was a man of whom any nation and any age would be proud. As an ardent worker in the cause of his country and as a promoter of every object calculated to ameliorate the condition of his countrymen his name will be remembered by his countrymen with feelings of deepest veneration. Such noble and disinterested services will give him a high place in the temple of fame and his countrymen will remember them with feelings of pride and will heartily echo the poet's lines :—

He was a man, take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again.

S. M.

Art. IV.—BRITISH PHILISTINISM AND INDIAN ART.

IN India when the struggle for political supremacy is over, and the dust of present day popular controversies laid, and impartial history sitting either at the heart or in the midst of the ruins of a vast empire will declare its verdicts the gravest charge that the British in India will have to answer will be the charge of destroying the exquisite arts of India. This we have heard asserted by dilettantes as well as by scholars, by amateurs as well as by experts. In this crusade against "British philistinism"—as at least one expert has called it—the van has been led by men like Forrest, Growse and Havell—men whose authority and competency to speak on the subject cannot well be gainsaid. Of course there is much difference between the sober sense of the ex-Director of Records to the Government of India, the calm but clear protest of the rebuilder of Bulandsahar, and the impassioned indictment of the artist. But in effect they all speak the same thing,—the British have, without the least shadow of necessity, imported things "out of character with the climate" * and wholly out of place in India, and thereby paved the way of Indian art to decay and destruction.

The British have been in India for a pretty long time, and the influence of the conquerors has considerably influenced the life of the conquered—the influence of England having filtered down to the masses. The time, we think, has come when an attempt should be made to see how far the British can be and should be held responsible for the decay of Indian art.

* Forrest—*Cities of India.*

The decay of the exquisite art industries of India has often been discussed. But attempts to revive the dead and preserve the dying have invariably ended in failure. It is unprofitable to deplore a decay which no amount of regret could have prevented or even arrested. "The old order changeth yielding place to new." As the unit of society the family has given way to the individual; the village community of India has only a historic importance now; with the introduction of the powerful energies of steam and electricity individual handwork is being supplanted by wholesale manufacture. The patronage of a community or the fashion of a caste cannot give an industry a permanent lease of life or even place it in a tolerable state of preservation. The want of the mass and not the demand of a class should be consulted, the laws of demand and supply must be satisfied—to make permanent industries thrive. Therefore no amount of vituperation shot down before the door step of the Government can revive the individual handwork for which India was once famous—until it can successfully compete with machinery.

India to-day is not what she was before. Her civilisation—ancient and hoary with age—has undergone a great change. The atrophied views of the East have been quickened with the life blood of the West. Her peoples have been inspired with new ideas, new aspirations, new ideals. A new era has dawned for her; and her place in the "federation of the world" is no longer what it was before. The clash of two diverse civilisations has shaken the foundations of society and washed away many cherished customs and popular prejudices to which time had lent the sanctity of religious ordinances. And it is only natural that to meet the ever-increasing demands of this age of an ever-widening circle of activity Indian

industries should undergo the necessary change. In the progress of a nation regrets should only help the onward march.

"We are witnessing in India only one aspect of a process that is going on throughout the world, that has long ago extinguished the old manual industries of England, and that is rapidly extinguishing those of China and Japan. Nothing can stop it. The power loom will drive out the hand loom and the factory will get the better of the workshop, just as surely as the steam car is advancing and the hand-pulled punka is being replaced by the electric fan."* Handicrafts grow into manufacture, trade expands into commerce.

"India" says Mr. Havell, "is intended both by the nature and by the genius of her inhabitants to be a hand-worker's paradise".† True the Indian handicraftsman has his peculiar advantages.—"He has his assured place, inherited from father to son for a hundred generations, in the national church and State organisation ; while nature provides him with everything to his hand, but the little food and less clothing he needs, and the simple tools of the trade" ‡

But these have not been able to stay the steady decay of Indian industries—to check the progress of great industrial revolution working wonders in the country.

It is now needless to dread the introduction of machinery into India. "Steam power has driven hand labour out of all the markets for ordinary (that is to say non-artistic) goods. Large factories for spinning and weaving have sprung into existence all over India and are year by year being multiplied. The outcry against them

* Lord Curzon—Opening of the Delhi Art Exhibition.

† *East and West*,

‡ Birdwood—*Industrial Arts of India*.

has been misguided and sentimental. To bolster up the effete methods and appliances of bygone times would of necessity involve the suppression of national progression and the exposure of India to an even fiercer foreign competition than that at present. However much Indian art may be injured or individuals suffer, progression, in line with the manufacturing enterprise of civilisation, must be allowed free course and the endeavour should be to aid rather than obstruct the progress of India's manufacturing enterprise" *.

"Already in Europe," says Mr. Havell, "there are signs that indicate that before many generations have passed we shall come to regard many phases of the last century's industrial development as a hideous nightmare. When electricity has taken the place it will eventually take in our industrial system, there can hardly be a doubt that many industries will return to the villages and many pestiferous rookeries in the great towns will be cleared off the face of the earth." †

But we cannot sit idle till that time comes and wait for an opportunity that may come in the distant future long after the lips of competition have blown out the industries of India, and when nothing can revive the vanished spark. Only let us hope the experience gained in Europe and America in these matters will not be lost upon us—that machinery should be made "the servant and not the master of men" and that we shall understand "what things may be done by machinery, and what must be done by handwork, if art is to be of the slightest consideration in the matter."

But if the decay of the art-industries of India is to a great extent natural, the decay of her arts cannot

* Watt—*Indian Art at Delhi*.

† *East and West*.

be said to be exactly so. And their decay can, perhaps, yet be arrested.

The history of art in every country is contained in the history of its architecture. This is true in all civilised countries where architecture has reached the dignity of an art. This is more than true in India. For, in India, the people "untrammelled by rules and gifted with a feeling for the beautiful" produced marvellous results in the department of decoration; and made sculpture and painting decorative. Here Architecture led the other arts and gave them their tone. "The sculpture of ancient India, originating as it did in religious tendencies and destined to serve religious purposes, could only follow its own immediate purpose in sacred representations; otherwise it was, and remained, simply decorative and always connected with architecture.....According to the view of life prevailing among the Hindus, purely artistic execution never found scope in the existence of schools, but only in sporadic instances. The sacred figures themselves even came to be employed again decoratively."* If the carved stones of Buddha-Gaya prove that in India sculpture was the handmaid of architecture, the paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta show that the case was the same with painting also. The triumphs of Indian art have been triumphs in architecture—sculpture and painting,—carved stones and brilliant colours only helping the work of architecture.

This triumph of ancient India in architecture was carried on in unending succession to the days of the Moghuls, who were great builders. The deserted capital of Akbar, the fairy hall of Shah-Jehan all testify to the ingenuity with which the hereditary art workman

* Grumwedel—*Buddhist Art in India*.

of India could blend the traditions of the art of his conqueror with the traditions of his still more ancient art. The slowly elaborated processes by which Indian art progressed to perfection left an undying impress on the mind of the people which has endured to our own day. And that is the reason why in India art is still more a part of national life than it is elsewhere. "In India art is no luxury ; it is the common property of the poorest and the richest. The art of the peasant is just as real and just as true as the art of the greatest maharaja."*

Years back Fergusson—perhaps the greatest authority on the subject—wrote : "Architecture in India is still a living art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries ; and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action. In Europe, at the present day, architecture is practised in a manner so anomalous and abnormal that few, if any, have hitherto been able to shake off the influence of a false system, and to see that the art of ornamental building can be based on principles of commonsense and that, when so practised, the result not only is, but must be, satisfactory. Those who have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant uneducated natives of India are now producing, will easily understand how success may be achieved ; while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe are constantly perpetrating, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. It is only in India that the two systems can now be seen practised side by side—the educated

* E. B. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century*

and intellectual European always failing because his principles are wrong ; the feeble and uneducated native as inevitably succeeding because his principles are right. The Indian builders *think* only of what they are doing and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details, should be a correct copy of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose ; hence the difference in the result." *

A recent writer in the *Nineteenth Century* has written in the same vein :—" India is the only part of the British Empire where the æsthetic sense of the people, in spite of all that British philistinism has done to suppress it, strongly influences their everyday life. It is pitiful to find, even in semi-European cities like Bombay and Calcutta—where nine out of ten of the imposing public buildings built for the official administration flaunt before the native gaze the brutalities and vulgarities of the worst English nineteenth century architecture—that one may go into a back slum and see a modern Mahomedan mosque or Hindu temple, in which the native workman, in naive admiration, has borrowed the details from these Gothic or Classic atrocities, and continued by the unconscious exercise of his inner æsthetic consciousness to build something which defies all the musty cannons of scholastic architectural law, but yet reveals something of that essential spirit of beauty which all living art possesses. In places more remote from European influence the houses, mosques and temples built by native workmen of the present day, who have had no other education than the traditions of their fathers, are hardly less eloquent than

* *Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

the nobler monuments of the past in their silent protest against the stupid materialism and the false classicism with which the art of the West would instruct the art of the East."*

But however much all may deplore the fact that the British in India have not fully utilised the splendid skill of the hereditary art workman of India, and often overlooked the fact that the native mason, if he is allowed to work out his own ideas without too minute instructions, can consult the convenience of those for whom he builds and—assimilating what is suggestive of foreign culture shape the buildings according to the requirements—we cannot bring the charge of philistinism or vandalism against the British in India.

Elsewhere we have said that the early settlers of the Old John Company—who had no dream of a vast empire in the East with infinite power for good or for evil, paid little heed to the indigenous arts of India. With their characteristic insularity and the national prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon race that what is good for the Anglo-Saxon is good enough for the rest of the world, they disregarded their surroundings and, in architecture, imitated the models found in their island home. It satisfied their love of prestige, and reminded them of their home beyond the seas. And this was most unfortunate, for the formal and cold classicism then fashionable in England was hopelessly irreconcilable with oriental ideas of art. †

What is more unfortunate is that it takes a very long time and, perhaps, also great strength of mind to change the traditions of a Government in any department.

* Mr. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century*.

† *Vide The Calcutta Review, January 1903.*

There is yet another reason why a much desired change in Government architecture in India has not been brought about. Every one interested in art will remember Ruskin's indictment that in Europe all the pleasure that the people of the nineteenth century take in art, is in pictures, sculpture, minor objects of virtu, or mediæval architecture, which they enjoy under the term "picturesque." They take no pleasure in modern buildings, the reason being that modern European architecture, working as it does, on known rules and from fixed models is more a manufacture than an art "No true art, whether expressing itself in words, colours, or stones, says the same thing over and over again : the merit of architectural, as of every other art consists in its saying new and different things : to repeat itself is no more a characteristic of genius in brick and stone than it is of genius in verse or prose." When taste in England is defective and corrupt it is only natural that the training of engineers and architects there would be defective and corrupt. And it is this training which is responsible for those buildings which "offend the eye and haunt the imagination in every station of India from Simla, Calcutta and Bombay to the smallest mofussil town." The condemnation which the system has suffered must be admitted to be deserved. What little we can say in its favour we shall say afterwards.

Since the British in India have found themselves the masters of a vast empire in the East it has always been their earnest endeavour to do their duty by the people. And they have done it boldly and fully where their own interests have not suffered by it. Their acts of "vandalism" have always been accidental, and never intentional, i.e., the result of a fixed principle to

bring about the decay and ultimate destruction of the arts of the country.

Of these acts of "vandalism" Lord Curzon has spoken thus: "In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. The same Governor-General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's Palace at Agra, which had been torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV., but had somehow never been despatched. In the same *régime* a proposal was made to lease the garden at Sikandra to the Executive Engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was so solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the removal of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman. I have read of a great Mahomedan pillar, over 600 years old, which was demolished at Aligarh, to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some *bunniahs'* shops, which, when built, were never let. Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Hindu-Mussulman mosque at Ajmere were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch under which the Viceroy of the day was to pass. James Fergusson's books sound one unending note of passionate protest against the barrack-builder and the military engineer. I must confess that I think these individuals have been, and within the more restricted scope now left to them, still are inveterate sinners. Climb the hill top at Gwalior and see the barracks of the British soldier, and the relics, not yet entirely obliterated, of his occupation of the Palace in

the Fort. Read in the Delhi Guide-books of the horrors that have been perpetrated in the interests of regimental barracks and messes and canteens in the fairy-like pavilions and courts and gardens of Shah Jehan. It is not yet 30 years since the Government of India were invited by a number of army doctors to cut off the battlements of the Fort at Delhi, in order to improve the health of the troops, and only desisted from doing so when a rival band of medical *doctrinaires* appeared upon the scene to urge the retention of the very same battlements, in order to prevent malarial fever from creeping in. At an earlier date when picnic-parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel, with which they wiled away the afternoon by chipping out fragments of agate and cornelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen." *

But if here and there stray cases of vandalism have been committed through the ignorance of administrators or the mistake of our zealous officials, have we not got English statesmen who have publicly deplored them and declared that the conservation of ancient monuments is "one of the primary obligations of Government;" English officials who have set examples by adopting the Indian style of architecture in buildings, English artists who, in a fit of generous indignation, have called their own countrymen "philistines" who "in the name of European culture and civilisation crush out the artistic feeling of the Indian peoples" † and who would fain declare like Byron—"the last, the worst, dull spoiler, who was he?" But we in India have seen acts of

* Ancient Indian buildings.

† E. B. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century*.

vandalism perpetrated by people of alien faith which make us stagger when we hear of the charge of vandalism brought against the British Government of India which has done and is still doing much for the art relics of ancient, mediæval and Mahomedan India.

We agree with Mr. Havell when he says : "For the last fifty years at least we (the British) have had at hand a really effective instrument by which, without spending an extra rupee, without schools of art, without museums and without exhibitions, we could have stimulated the whole artistic intelligence of the people and brought prosperity to the principal art industries. This instrument we have deliberately thrown away. Let us examine this point carefully. In European architecture of the last few centuries there has gradually grown up a hard-and-fast distinction between architecture and building--the same false distinction which is commonly made between artistic work and useful work. The natural consequence was that the builder became less and less an architect, and the architect less and less a builder. Gradually the builder became an unintelligent tool in the hands of the architect, and the architect, instead of evolving artistic ideas from structural necessities, came to regard his art either as a screen for concealing the ugliness of construction or as a means of forcing construction into certain conventional modes which he wrongly called 'styles.' With the total loss of artistic expression in building which we reached in the middle of the nineteenth century, European architecture degenerated into a confused jumble of archæological ideas borrowed from the buildings of former times." *

* Vide the *Nineteenth Century*, February 1903.

We have said before that this corruption of taste in England is to a great extent responsible for the Public Works Buildings in India which must come in for their share of deserved condemnation from an artistic point of view, in spite of their being in very good company. And this is why the Indian Public Works engineers have seldom attempted to study the architecture of the country, and have "always worked on the blind assumption that the native architects have only built temples and mosques, forgetting that we (the British) ourselves have destroyed, or allowed to decay, most of the civil buildings which the Mogul and other Indian architects constructed."

Over and above the excuse of corruption of taste in England Indian Public Works Buildings have yet another excuse for their "standard plans." We deplore their uniformity, their "soulless and depressing monotony" which pays but little or no regard to local conditions as regards material, or the habits of the people, or the capacity of the workman, and which is not conducive to convenience of design, excellence of construction, or economy in expenditure." But we are ready to admit that this uniformity probably facilitates the orderly arrangement of records in the central bureau, and is therefore highly approved by departmental authorities.

And if the Government insists on uniformity for convenience why is it said that by doing so it crushes out the artistic feeling of the Indian peoples ; and how is it that the charge of making architecture a Government monopoly is brought against the Government of India? In England nobody will think of following the lead of the Government in such matters, specially when the Government style is far from artistic. But in India the case is different—specially in the case of the

class which, in these matters, should take the lead, and set an example to the masses. A word of explanation is necessary here.

Says Mr. Havell : "The one conspicuous fact which must force itself upon the attention of anyone who seriously studies the artistic condition of India is that in the real India, which exists outside the semi-Europeanised society we have created, art belongs as much to the everyday life of the people as it did in ancient Greece. In Europe we play with art as a child plays with a toy, not knowing of its use except as a play-thing. The artist is a specialist who is called in by those who can afford to pay for the amusement ; but art is always more or less a frivolity which serious and sensible people dispense with as much as possible, except when it happens to be fashionable.* In the Hindu social organisation there are no schools of art, no art museums, but art lives and is felt as much by the ryot as by the maharaja.

"In the typical Hindu village every carpenter, mason, potter, blacksmith, and brass-smith, and weaver is an artist, and the making of cooking-pots is as much an artistic and religious work as the building of the village temple. So throughout our vast Indian empire there is a most marvellous store of artistic material available for educational and economic purposes, such as exists

* This reminds us of an incident connected with Carlyle.—"A bowed-down and world-wearied old man stood at the foot of a stately marble staircase in a house at Palace Gate. He was quaintly dressed, and his rugged, thoughtful and time-worn features wore a curious expression as he gazed wonderingly upon the splendour of the entrance hall of the West-end mansion to which he had paid a visit. For himself this old man had been content during more than forty years with a cheap and unpretending dwelling in a modest street leading off the Thames Embankment at Chelsea. Still he gazed at the marble pavement, at the dado, and at the white marble columns, and still his wonder grew ; until turning at length to the handsome and picturesque-ly attired gentleman who stood at his side he blurted out a characteristic question :—Has paint done all this 'Mr. Millais ?' 'It has' the artist replied with a laugh. 'Then,' rejoined the old man—who was none other than Thomas Carlyle—'Then all that I have to say is that there are more fools in the world than I thought there were"—*The Review of Reviews*, vol. xi., 1895.

nowhere in Europe."* This is to a great extent true. For, if the social system of India in which the position of individuals was fixed and the position of the artist was far from high—afforded but little encouragement to the genius of the artist outside the pale of a recognised caste, it served to preserve the art sentiment of the people, and encouraged art by giving the hereditary art workman a free hand in his own work. Thus the artist did his work unhampered by too minute and embarrassing instructions. And trained by steady practice his hands gained a cunning which produced, and even now produces, the domestic utensils "where beauty clings sadly to religion in the midst of an exquisite home life."† This is why in India a high general level of decorative excellence had obtained, and even the tools and objects of domestic utility had been made beautiful. And this is why in India—where building and architecture had always been one, the master mason being both builder and architect, just as he was in Europe in the middle ages—architecture has continued to be a living art down to the present day.

The un-Anglicised typical Indian still clings to his old habits and old traditions with a pertinacity which must command our admiration, and without which the destruction of Indian art would have been, by now, an accomplished fact. "In India almost the only class in the native community that still encourages indigenous art is the much abused trader and money-lender. Not that he is moved to do so by any artistic bias, but simply by force of habit. If he decides upon building a new porch to his house, he calls in the mason of most repute in the neighbourhood, shows him the site and explains

* Vide *The Nineteenth Century*.

† Okakura—*The Ideals of the East*.

what is wanted. . Perhaps the materials in whole or in part are also supplied, but the workman is then left to his own device, on the presumption that he best understands his own business ; in the same way as a tailor, after taking his customer's measure and being furnished with as much cloth as he wants would be trusted to turn out a garment properly stitched, of the desired description and of the same cut as other people wear. The result of this confidence is ordinarily most satisfactory to both parties ; the workman's manual labour is relieved by the sense of independence, and elevated by the exercise of thought ; while the paymaster attends to his ordinary affairs during the progress of the undertaking, and in the end gets his money's worth as in any ordinary mercantile transaction."*

This leaving the workman to his own device has its own peculiar advantages. It is a sound maxim, which holds good in small matters as in large, that it is well to trust the people you employ. If you cannot trust a man, do not employ him. Moreover the artist "if he is to do his best, must be the autocrat of his own work, having over it the same responsible independent command as a Commander-in-Chief has over his army in the field." †

But if the mercantile classes of Indian society are distinguished by their conservative adherence to ancestral usage, the landed gentry, the cultured classes, and the aristocracy who are on visiting terms with Europeans cherish equally strong aspirations in the opposite direction. They pretend to like everything English, and their chief ambition is to imitate the English taste. In architecture they adopt the style which is

* F. S. Growse in *The Calcutta Review*, 1884.

† Conway—*Domain of Art*.

stamped with official approval, though in rococo vulgarity scarcely anything could be found to surpass it. They never pause to consider the fact that the Government buildings are not good examples of art. Only considered as "temporary makeshifts for the deposit of departmental returns, or the casual shelter of distressed officials" they might pass uncriticised. But they think that if the Government chooses to lodge its servants in buildings of "shed and godown" pattern, they must go and do likewise. We do not know if this sickening show of loyalty raises them in the estimation of a people with whom manly self-respect is a great virtue. But before the world it demonstrates the depth of degradation to which the aristocracy and plutocracy of India have sunk.

In the matter of setting a bad example the Provincial Governments situated in the centres of Indian art, are worse offenders than the Supreme Government; and their influence is spread over a much wider area. The aristocracy and plutocracy of India—whose taste has been almost hopelessly vitiated—adopt in architecture the style stamped with official approval, and, to suit the buildings, bring foreign articles of furniture, etc. Thus bereft of patronage from the proper quarter the indigenous arts of India languish and decay.

Some people hold that in every age and every country the upper and monied classes—so repeatedly condemned by Carlyle—are "too materialised to have any intelligent appreciation of art. They understand the fashionable, and are ready to admire the magnificent; but the more delicate refinements of design, which constitute the special charm of the artist's conception, and which it is the student's greatest delight to trace and interpret, are mostly lost upon them." The magnificent

products of art in which their names live, and with which their names are handed down to posterity only satisfy their variety by being expensive, while the artistic charm is supplied entirely by the creative genius of the artist. But the art relics of ancient dynasties make us pause before we accept such an assertion. And it is a well-tried maxim that art must begin in the upper classes of society. But in modern India the aristocracy and the plutocracy are not *materialised*, but *degenerated*. They not only do not appreciate art, but affecting a taste for "Brummagem Art" decry the exquisite arts of their own country. This is due, partly to their training and partly to the system of education which makes them "rub each other's angles down," and lose all reverence for their ancient past, which gives them knowledge without character, makes them men without strong individuality—men minus backbone.

Thus the circumstances are different in India.

And that is our only excuse for saying that here the duties of the Government are different too. It is therefore that we ask the Government to adopt, as far as possible, indigenous styles of architecture in its buildings, and thereby set an example to the people who would easily follow the example of the Government. This must have been the excuse of the indignant artist who took the "white man's burden" rather too seriously and declared: "Even the Goths and Vandals in their most ferocious iconoclasm did less injury to art than that which we (the British in India) have done and continue to do in the name of European civilisation. If the Goths and Vandals destroyed, they brought with them the genius to reconstruct. But we, a nation whose æsthetic understanding has been deadened by generations of pedantry and false teaching, have done all that indifference

and active philistinism could do to suppress the lively inborn artistic sense of the Indian peoples. All that recent Indian administrations have done to support and encourage art is but a feather in the scale against the destructive counter influences, originating in times less sympathetic to Indian art, which have been allowed to continue under their authority." *

But in his indignation against his own countrymen and harassed by an exaggerated sense of responsibility he has lost sight of the fact that there is another thing which has done infinitely more to bring about the decay of Indian art than the bad example set by the Government. For after all *Indian philistinism* and *not British philistinism* is the chief cause of the decay of Indian art.

As the preservation of the arts of a country is a duty of Government, and in India, the vitiated taste of the aristocracy and the plutocracy cannot be improved unless the Government sets an example to undo the civil influence of a long standing bad example, the Government should adopt the policy of using, as far as possible, Indian styles of architecture in its buildings.† We say "as far as possible" purposely. For, it is only natural—and, to some extent, necessary that the influence of the English should leave its mark on Indian art, as the influence of the Moslems has already left clear traces on it.‡ "It must be expected that English fashions will be largely represented in the artistic development of the immediate future. The change is inevitable, and, in so far as it is a witness to historical facts its avoidance

* E. B. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century*.

† "The worst mischief is perhaps done by the architecture foisted on the country by the Government of India, which, because it is the architecture of the Government, is naturally thought to be worthy of all imitation."—Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*.

‡ "Mohammedan forms became modified by Hindu builders, and Hindu forms received an influence from the florid taste of the Mohammedans."—Manning—*Ancient and Medieval India*.

would not be absolutely desirable, even if it were possible; for all ultra-purism is unnatural, unhealthy and bad. When the assimilation of new matter ceases, decay must begin.* Only the amalgamation, to be complete, must be gradual—the necessary and inevitable changes being made in the indigenous style which should preserve as much of its characteristics as possible. The change, in other words, should be left to the tranquil operation of time, and careful guidance of correct taste.

In this connection we recall with pleasure the words of Lord Curzon uttered when opening the Art Exhibition in connection with the Delhi *durbār*—words for which every Indian feels grateful to him—“The Exhibition is intended as an object lesson ; it is meant to show what India can still imagine, and create, and do ; it is meant to show that the artistic sense is not dead among its workmen, but all they want is a little stimulus and encouragement ; it is meant to show that for the beautification of an Indian house or the furniture of an Indian house there is no need to rush to the European shows at Calcutta or Bombay, but in almost every Indian state and Province, in most Indian towns, and in many Indian villages there still survives the art and there still exist the artificers who can satisfy the artistic as well as the utilitarian taste of their countrymen, and who are competent to keep alive this precious inheritance that we have received from the past.”

But to fulfil this “strictly patriotic purpose”—as Lord Curzon called it—it is necessary that in India the Government should set an example. For in every country—and specially in India—the public taste should be correctly guided, not so much by direct educational

* F. S. Growse in the *Calcutta Review*.

institutions, such as schools of art, museums and exhibitions as by the persistent stimulus of practical example. So long as the necessity for the latter is ignored, the former tend rather to the "isolation of the artist" and the restriction of art influences to the connoisseur; instead of bringing them to bear upon society at large.

And in India the people on whom we have mainly to depend, members of the aristocracy and the plutocracy, may be unable to understand the true motive of the actions of the Government, and to imbibe its spirit, but are, alas, too ready to imitate its examples. They, too, should not forget that the responsibilities of wealth and culture are heavy on them, and they should discharge their duty by their own people.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

Art. V.—THE BURDEN OF EMPIRE.

ONE of the imperial questions of the hour is naval defences, and the part which the Colonies should play therein. Rival schools of experts and writers advocate either that they should merge their individuality in a common scheme, or that the naval programme of each overseas territory should be primarily directed by itself; while it is admitted on all sides that the Mother Country is bearing an enormous burden which the Colonies should lighten as much as possible seeing that they benefit as fully from the Navy as she herself does.

The present financial assistance furnished by the Colonies towards the maintenance of the Imperial Navy is insignificant compared with the total expenditure of the United Kingdom and is valuable mainly as signs of their good will. India contributes £161,000 per annum, but as she also bears so great a share of the military burden of an imperial character, she does not come within the purview of this momentous question. Australasia's subscription amounts to £126,000 each year, the Cape Government pays annually £30,000, and Natal's donation takes the form of 12,000 tons of coal. It will be noticed that neither Canada nor Newfoundland give any aid, but it is only fair to admit that the latter colony is scarcely in a financial position to do so, but she can and is willing to supply men to form a Naval Reserve that could be utilised in the event of war.

It is therefore evident that the present naval contributions of the Colonies amounting to about 1 per cent. of Britain's naval expenditure do not cover the cost of

squadrons which could be more profitably employed if the contributions did not exist. This last condition has been fulfilled in the case of Canada, with the result that England is now enabled to withdraw ships from both sides of North America, and to reduce Halifax and Esquimalt to inexpensive cadres.

The Colonies owe their wonderful development, which in a few score of years has changed them from unexplored wildernesses to prosperous, wealthy, and self-governing States, to the prestige and acknowledged power and efficiency of the British Navy which is really and truly the navy of the United Kingdom, for its prestige is the precious heritage of its people. It was their daring which created it, and their sacrifices alone and unaided which have maintained and still maintain its acknowledged strength and power.

The essential condition of the existence of the whole fabric of Empire, the pride and boast of all its citizens is predominant sea-power, but the burden of maintaining it is left to those who live in the Mother Country to bear. For instance, any man who lives in the British Isles and pays taxes, bears his share of the cost of the Navy, but should he transfer his abode to Canada, he still continues of course to be a British citizen, and as such entitled to the same naval protection for his oversea trade and business as at home, but he at once ceases to pay a single penny towards the provision of the Navy, and thus gets for nothing all the advantages of a predominant sea-power.

Under these circumstances, the Colonies are really cities of refuge for those who desire to be members of a great empire free of the cost necessary to provide, not only for its security, but for the protection of their commerce on any and every sea in which they may desire

to do business. There is no other nation in the world where the resources of only a part bear the entire cost and responsibility of providing what is necessary to secure against attack the existence of the realm as a whole, or the retention of anyone of its several component parts.

That such a one-sided system can continue much longer is impossible. The United Kingdom will in the long run be unable to meet the ever-increasing demands of a costly navy. As an industrial unit England has long ago been outstripped by the United States. It is at this very moment being outstripped by Germany, and may even, in a future not so very remote, be outstripped by Japan and Russia. The burden of maintaining a two-Power standard at sea, and keeping up an army sufficient for the policing of the Empire has already proved heavy enough to the Mother Country, but the question then arises, "What will she do when the United States and Germany seriously begin to compete with her for naval supremacy?"

There are only two alternatives: either the Colonies must equitably share with the Mother Country the cost and responsibility of providing what is essential for general security; or the task of furnishing sufficient force and armaments to protect the whole empire in time of war must be left unfulfilled, or, in other words, attempt to continue its existence on sufferance. The latter alternative can only present itself after all hope is extinguished of the adoption of the former, so the immediate question is what, if any, are the prospects of the acceptance by the Colonies of any such proposition.

Will they recognise the debt that they owe to the Mother Country for the protection she has afforded

them during their years of infancy, by coming forward now to bear some of the grievous burden which must be borne in the interests of all, though it falls at present unequally on the various parts of the Empire. Surely it ought to be possible to arrive at some scheme whereby there may be established a really imperial Navy, a fleet that shall be invincible ; the greatest instrument for peace in the world. In face of the growing rivalry of foreign Powers an arrangement of this character gives the best promise for the maintenance of the Navy at a requisite standard of safety. Efficiency demands that there should be some workable system of defence, and the task of finding a solution to the problem which the need presents should not be beyond the achievement of the Empire's statesmen.

The British Empire depends for its continuance on the continued command of the intervening seas by the British Navy, and the fact should be recognised in a practical manner, for unless the ocean tracks followed by the trade of the Mother Country and the Colonies are dominated by warships flying the white ensign, the imperial fabric cannot hold together.

G. GREENWOOD.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS. By Paul Denssen, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. Authorised English Translation by Rev. A. S. Goden, M. A. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.

TO the students of Indian philosophy, Dr. Paul Denssen is no stranger, and, therefore, needs no recommendation. He is an Oriental scholar of great eminence and possesses the coolness, the impartiality, and the critical acumen of the philosophic mind. The readers of the *Calcutta Review* will remember that in 1896 the Proprietor of the *Review* secured for the benefit of its readers the sole right of publication of the only authorised English translation of Dr. Paul Denssen's great work on the System of Vedanta.

In the pages of the book before us the reader will miss the singularly unfavourable judgment which Mr. Archibald E. Gough pronounced in his *Philosophy of the Upanishads* published at first in the *Calcutta Review* (Vols. LXVI, LXIX and LXX.) The average Englishman moves in a narrow groove and thinks that whatever is peculiar to England is superior to everything else that exists in the world. This explains much of the attitude of Mr. Gough towards the religion and philosophy of the Upanishads. Lord Curzon spoke the truth when he said—"One of the defects of the Anglo-Saxon character is this, that it is apt to be a little loud both in self-praise and in self-condemnation. When we are contemplating our virtues we sometimes annoy other people by the almost pharisaical complacency of our transports. But equally, I think, when we are diagnosing our faults we are apt almost to revel in the superior quality of our transgressions." Dr. Denssen is free from the prejudices of the Englishman. He has taken pains to understand the real spirit of Hinduism and has made an earnest effort to present the religion and philosophy of the Upanishads in their true colours. The present work, though forming the second part of the author's *General History of Philosophy*, is complete in itself, and has for its subject the philosophy of Upanishads, the culminating point of the Indian doctrine

of the Universe. "The thoughts of the Vedanta," says Dr. Denssen, "became for India a permanent and characteristic spiritual atmosphere, which pervades all the products of the later literature. To every Indian Brahman to-day the Upanishad's are what the New Testament is to the Christian." "So significant a phenomenon," continues the Doctor, "deserved and demanded a more comprehensive treatment than it had yet obtained. And my hope is to remove in some measure the cloud which hitherto has obscured this subject, and to exhibit order and consistency in place of the confused mass of contradictory conceptions which alone had been supposed to exist." It seems to us that this hope of the author has, to a very large extent, been realised. He has achieved an amount of success in this direction never before attained by any other scholar, European or Indian.

Dr. Denssen thinks that the Upanishads have a special and very remarkable inner relation to Christianity. "The Upanishads are for the Veda what the New Testament is for the Bible." "The primitive standpoint of righteousness by works is represented in the Bible by the Old Testament law, which corresponds in the Veda to that which the Indian theologians call the *Karmakanda*. Both the Old Testament and the *Karmakanda* of the Veda proclaim a law, and hold out the prospect of reward for its observance and of punishment for its transgression. And if the Indian theory has the advantage of being able to defer retribution in part to the future, and by that means to relieve the conflict with experience that raises so many difficulties for the Old Testament doctrine of a retribution limited to this world, it is, on the other hand, the distinguishing characteristic of the Biblical law of righteousness that it pays less regard than the Indian to ritual prescriptions, and, in their place, lays greater stress on a habitually blameless course of life. In itself, however, and as far as the moral value of an action is concerned it makes no difference whether a man exerts himself in the service of imaginary gods or in that of his fellowmen." Both the New Testament and the Upanishads recognise the worthlessness of all works, and make salvation dependant not on anything done or left undone, but on a complete transformation of the natural man as a whole. Both

regard this transformation as a release from the bonds of this all-embracing empirical reality, which has its roots in egotism. Why, then, do we need a release from this existence? Because it is the realm of sin, is the reply of the Bible. The Veda answers,— Because it is the realm of ignorance. The former sees depravity in the volitional, the latter in the intellectual side of human nature. The Bible demands a change of the will, the Veda of the understanding.

Professor Denssen divided the system into four fundamental divisions :—

(1) Theology: the doctrine of Brahman as the first principle of all things.

(2) Cosmology: the doctrine of the evolution of this principle to form the Universe.

(3) Psychology: the doctrine of the entrance of the Brahman as soul into the Universe evolved from him.

(4) Eschatology and ethics: the doctrine of the fate of the soul after death, and the manner of life which is therefore required.

What is the meaning of the word *Upanishad*? According to Sankara, the Upanishad were so named because they "destroy" inborn ignorance, or because they conduct to Brahman. A part from these interpretations, justifiable neither on grounds of philology nor of fact, the word *Upanishad* is usually explained by Indian writers by *rahasyam*, i.e., secret; the universal tendency of antiquity, and of the circle which produced the Upanishads was in the direction of keeping their contents secret from unfit persons. Another explanation has recently been put forward by Oldenberg according to which *Upanishad*, precisely as *upásána* would have originally meant "adoration," i.e., reverential meditation on the Brahman or Atman. According to Denssen Oldenberg's explanation is open to serious objection, and should be dismissed altogether, and that offered by the Indians (*rahasyam*=secret) should be accepted as the correct one.

What is the fundamental conception of the Upanishads? On this point Professor Denssen says: "All the thoughts of the Upanishads move around two fundamental ideas. These are (1) Brahman, (2) Atman. As a rule these terms are employed

synonymously. Where a difference reveals itself *Brahman* appears as the older and the less intelligible expression, *Atman* as the later and the more significant ; *Brahman* as the unknown that needs to be explained ; *Atman* as the known through which the other unknown finds its explanation ; *Brahman* as the first principle so far as it is comprehended in the Universe, *Atman* so far as it is known in the inner self of man." In the conception of unity as it is expressed in the words of the Rig Veda "ekam sad viprā vahudhā vadanti"—"the poets give many names to that which is one only"—the fundamental thought of the whole teaching of the Upanishad lay already hidden in the germ. For this verse really asserts that all plurality, consequently all proximity in space, all succession in time, all interdependence of subject and object, rests only upon words or, as was said later, is a mere matter of words, and that only unity is in the full sense real. The first to grasp the conception of the *Atman* in its complete subjective precision, who, therefore, laid the foundation of the Upanishad doctrine proper, is Yajnavalkya (himself mythical throughout) whose teaching is a daring, uncompromising, eccentric idealism, and may be summed up in three propositions :—

- (1) The *Atman* is the knowing subject within us.
- (2) The *Atman* is the knowing subject—itself unknowable.
- (3) The *Atman* is the sole reality (*satyam, satyasya, satyam*) : for it is the metaphysical unity which is manifested in all empirical plurality.

"Metaphysical knowledge," says Denssen, "impugns the existence of any reality outside of the *Atman*, i.e., the consciousness. The empirical view, on the contrary, teaches that a manifold universe exists external to us. From a combination of these antagonistic propositions originated the doctrine which in all the Upanishad occupies the largest space, and which may be conveniently described as heathenism—the universe is real, and yet the *Atman* remains the sole reality, for the *Atman* is the universe."

"The one *Atman* and the manifold universe, often as they were brought together, always fell asunder again. A natural step was therefore taken, when more and more as

time went on instead of this unintelligible identity the familiar empirical category of causality made its appearance, by virtue of which the *ātman* was represented as the cause chronologically antecedent, and the universe its effect ; and thus a connection with the ancient Vedic cosmogony became possible."

Theism is a further chronologically later stage of development which first arises at the period at which the supreme and individual souls appear contrasted with one another.

With the recognition of a real universe external to the *ātman*, and the division of the latter into the supreme soul and a multitude of individual souls the preliminary conditions of the later *sankhya* system were satisfied. When powers of creation and movement were assigned to matter itself God became superfluous, and there were left only *prakṛiti* and a multitude of individual *purashas*. A reconstruction of the theism was attempted in the *yoga* system which in harmony with its later origin builds upon the bases of the *sankhya* system a *yoga* practice which depends upon the teachings of the Upanishads.

As regards the fate of the soul after death the Upanishads propounded the doctrine of deliverance. "Deliverance is not effected by the knowledge of the *ātman*, but this knowledge itself is already deliverance. He who knows himself as the *ātman* has recognised thereby the world of plurality and the desire occasioned by the plurality to be an illusion which can no longer lead him astray." But the semblance of empirical knowledge persists, and it is a consequence of this that deliverance appears to be first attained in all its completeness after the dissolution of the body. The theory, therefore, was formed of the way of the gods, on which the emancipated were led after death through a series of bright stages to union with *Brahman*, "whence there is no return."

But what becomes of those that die without having known themselves as the *ātman*? For good or evil deeds there is recompense of joy or suffering in the other world. In contrast with the immortality of the perfected there remained for others the prospect of enduring in the other world, together with other misfortunes a renewed necessity of death." Thus arose the

Indian doctrine of transmigration, which really means,—“a man becomes good by good works, evil by evil,” or, in other words, “according to the work which he does so is he rewarded.”

Emancipation consisted on its external phenomenal side.—

- (1) In the removal of the consciousness of plurality.
- (2) In the removal of all desire, the necessary consequence and accompaniment of that consciousness.

To produce these two states was the aim of two characteristic manifestations of Indian culture—

(1) Of the *Yoga* which by withdrawing the organs from the objects of sense and concentrating them on the inner self endeavoured to shake itself free from the world of plurality and to secure union with the *ātman*.

(2) Of the *Sannyasā*, which by the “casting off from oneself” of home, possessions, family and all that stimulates desire seeks laboriously to realise that freedom from all the ties of earth in which a deeper conception of life in other ages and countries also has recognised the supreme task of earthly existence, and will probably continue to recognise throughout all future time.

We have read this volume with great pleasure and profit, and we are quite confident that it will be welcomed by all students of philosophy as the most valuable exposition of the religion and philosophy of the Upanishads written by one of the most sympathetic and erudite of European scholars.

**THE GOOD OLD DAYS OF HONORABLE JOHN COMPANY, BEING
CURIOS REMINISCENCES ILLUSTRATING MANNERS AND CUS-
TOMS OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA DURING THE RULE OF THE EAST
INDIA COMPANY FROM 1600 TO 1858 WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF
PLACES AND PEOPLE OF THOSE TIMES, etc., etc., etc., compiled
from newspapers and other publications by W. H. CAREY. CALCUTTA:
R. CAMBRAY AND CO. 1906-1907. 2 VOLs.**

The old Greeks used to say, “A great book is a great evil and a lengthy preface is a greater one.” Fortunately, in bringing out a reprint of the book under notice, the publishers have not added to the “greatness of the evil” originally done by

Mr. William Henry Carey by introducing it to the public by a lengthy preface. In a very modest way, they inform us that the present edition is merely what it professes to be, a reprint, though "one or two obvious errors have been corrected by footnotes." The *raison d'être* of the present reprint is stated thus:—"The present valuable work had long been out of print and become exceedingly scarce, owing, no doubt, to the fact of the three volumes of the former edition not having been published simultaneously, a complete set was very difficult to obtain, and a reprint was in demand. Accordingly we have acquired from the heirs and executors of the late compiler their right, title and interest in the work, with the object of placing it within the reach of antiquarians, students of Indian history, book collectors and the general public." Thirty years ago, when the book was first published, its author or publisher or compiler never claimed that the book would be of much use either to the antiquarian or to the student of Indian history, for he plainly said in his own preface that it was first taken up as an amusement during the leisure hour. The late Mr. Carey never thought that his book possessed that amount of historical research and investigation which alone could entitle his work as an accurate historical work ; on the other hand, he candidly said that he did not aspire to be a historian. From newspapers and other works of doubtful historical accuracy, he took merely paragraphs containing amusing events, and by the aid of paste and scissors, threw them into something like a narrative. This was all that he did. The work was never meant seriously for the student of Indian history, for no attempt was made by the compiler to verify his "paragraphs" before they were thrown into the narrative. As such, we do not quite find the justification of the present publishers' claiming the right of reprint for the object of placing it within the reach of antiquarians and students of Indian history. Thirty years ago when the early history of the Honourable John Company was concealed in the archives of the India Office from public knowledge, the antiquarians and students of Indian history might have found in Mr. Carey's work something new and auxiliary to their stock of knowledge, but thirty years after when a vast amount of information is available to the public on the early days of the East

India Company through the labours of antiquarians and students of Indian history, to advance a plea in the way in which it has been done by the publishers to justify the reprint, seems to be absurd. Every student of Indian history now knows fully well that all that the late Mr. Carey put in his work thirty years ago is now more or less incorrect. Inspite of the present publishers' attempt to correct one or two obvious errors by footnotes, they should know that a vast deal of inaccurate matter still remains in the book, which can only be rectified by a thorough over-hauling of its contents. By reprinting them in their original form, the publishers have perpetuated those errors which have already been exploded and have unwittingly made themselves liable to the charge of being abettors in a wrong-doing which they should have avoided by allowing their "reprint" to be properly edited by a competent person.

Had Mr. Carey's *Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company* been an original work, there might have been some justification for its unpurged reprint, but when it was at first only a reprint of newspaper cuttings, of unverified selections and newspaper comments, it would have been well, had the publishers been good enough to check the errors which the late Mr. Carey in perfect good faith and for the sake of public amusement, made current by throwing them into his narrative. But now when the reprint is done and published most successfully, such comments are "too late;" they are like "cryings over spilt milk." Hence we think it would be better if we can point out as many errors as the present reprint contains, to warn the reader not to take them as facts. So far as the printing and the getting-up of the reprint are concerned, they have been excellently carried out by the firm of R. Cambray and Co. The paper on which the book is printed is excellent; the printing is fine and the portraits of Lord Minto added are excellently done. The credit of these entirely belong to the publishers.

The original edition appeared in three volumes, but the reprint is done in two. The first volume is divided into 32 chapters and the second into 37 with two chronological index tables at the end. Each one of these chapters can be rewritten now with greater accuracy and larger details. For instance, the

first chapter on "First European Settlers in the East" will be now regarded as obsolete as the information on the subject is plentiful and abundant. Sir William Hunter's "History of India" will enable every reader to get far more accurate knowledge on the subject than he can derive from Carey. Besides, what the author compiled thirty years ago requires now great modification. This remark equally holds good with the other chapters of the book. They are now more or less obsolete. A striking instance of this is to be found in page 34, Vol. I, where Carey merely reproduces a current *gup* about Job Charnock rescuing a beautiful young Hindoo widow from becoming a *suttee* and appropriating her as his wife. This is all nonsense. This ancient myth had been long ago exploded by the publication of the "Diary of William Hedges" by the Hakluyt Society. Hedges, who was a contemporary of Charnock thus says on Charnock's marriage: "When Charnock lived at Pattana (Patna) upon complaint being made to ye Nabab that he kept a Gentoo's wife (her husband being still living or but lately dead) who was run away from her husband and stolen all his money and jewels to a great extent, the said Nabab sent twelve soldiers to seize Mr. Charnock; but he escaping (or bribing ye men) they took his vakeel and kept him two months in prison, ye soldiers lying all this while at the Factory gate, till Mr. Charnock compromised the business for Rs. 3,000 in money, five pieces of broadcloth and some sword blades." It would thus appear to have been a simple case of elopement. Mrs. Charnock was a native of Behar, and the marriage had taken place long before Charnock was transferred to Hughli as the successor of Hedges.

But as such statements are very many in number in the book, it is impossible for us, within the limited space, to cull them out for the readers. We, therefore, point out here only the most prominent ones. In chapter 15 of Vol. I, the author jots down some notes on the Calcutta press. As the subject has never been written upon historically and as it concerns us most, we beg to review it at length. According to Carey the first newspaper was called the *India Gazette*, an organ of the Government and published in Calcutta anterior to 1774. This is not correct. Dr. H. E. Busteed, in his "Echoes

from Old Calcutta," has given a most satisfactory description of the life and death of the first Indian newspaper which was the *Bengal Gazette* published by James Augustus Hicky on Saturday, 29th January 1780 as a weekly paper. The *India Gazette* came after Hicky's *Gazette* in November 1780. When it was published, it was conducted by two private gentlemen and had no concern with the Government of the country, which only patronised it by allowing their advertisements to appear in the paper. Besides this privilege, the *India Gazette* never became "an organ of the Government" as Carey described it to be. For a full history of the *India Gazette*, the reader is referred to the articles on the "History of Calcutta Newspapers" that appeared in the *Englishman* (Calcutta) in February and March 1906. Similarly Carey was incorrect in stating that "in 1817 was published the *Friend of India* at Serampore." The first number of the quarterly *Friend of India* was published on the 30th April 1818, that of the monthly in 1820 and that of the weekly on the 1st January 1835. The history of the famous paper is told by the late J. C. Marshman in his "History of the Serampore Mission, Carey, Marshman, and Ward." But a fuller account appeared in the *Englishman* as referred to above. Further on, we are told that the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, under the editorial management of Captain D. L. Richardson, appeared in 1825. This account is not correct. When Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co. published the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* in 1826 Captain D. L. Richardson was not in India. He came back to Calcutta in 1829 and in the following year, began to edit the paper, which from January 1833, became his sole property.

In his account of the Vernacular Press of Bengal, Carey describes *Durpun*, as the first Bengalee newspaper. But it appears from the Rev. Mr. Long's Return on the Native Press that before the publication of *Sumachar Durpun*, there appeared in 1816 a Bengalee newspaper called the *Bengal Gazette* edited by one Gangadhar Bhattacharya. *Sumachar Durpun* came out in May 1818, and even before that, a Bengalee monthly, called *Dig Dursun*, was published from the Serampore Press. As such, *Sumachar Durpun* was the third Bengalee newspaper. As Mr. Carey did not publish all the circumstance

under which *Sumachar Durpun* first appeared, we give below the account as it is very interesting. J. C. Marshman writes : "It appeared (in 1818) that the time was ripe for a native newspaper and I offered the missionaries to undertake the publication of it. The jealousy which the Government had always manifested of the periodical press appeared, however, to present a serious obstacle. The English journals in Calcutta were under the strictest surveillance, and many a column appeared resplendent with the stars which were substituted at the last moment for the editorial remarks, and through which the censor had drawn his fatal pen. In this state of things it was difficult to suppose that a native paper would be tolerated for a moment. It was resolved therefore to feel the official pulse by starting a monthly magazine in the first instance and the *Dig Dursun* appeared in April 1818. It was composed of historical and other notices, likely from their novelty to excite the attention of the natives and to sharpen their curiosity. In the last page, in smaller type, some few items of political intelligence were inserted. Two numbers were published, and copies sent to the principal members of Government and the fact of the publication was widely disseminated by advertisements in all the English papers. As no objection appeared to be taken to the publication of the magazine, though it contained news, it was resolved at once to launch the weekly paper and to call it by the name given to the earliest English news-letter, the *Mirror of News* or the *Sumachar Durpun*. But Dr. Carey, who had been labouring fifteen years in India during the period when the opposition to missionary efforts and to the enlightenment of the natives was in full vigour, was unfavourable to the publication of the journal, because he feared it would give umbrage in official circles and weaken the good understanding which had been gradually growing up between the missionaries and the Government. He strenuously advised that the idea of it should be dropped, but he was overruled by his two colleagues, Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward. When the proof sheets were brought up for final examination at the weekly meeting of the missionaries the evening before the day of publication, he renewed his objections to the undertaking on the grounds he had stated. Dr. Marshman then offered to proceed

to Calcutta the next morning and submit the first number of the new gazette, together with a rough English translation of the articles to Mr. Edmonstone, then vice-president and to the chief secretary, and he promised that it should be discontinued if they raised any objection to it. To his great delight he found both of them favourable to the undertaking. At the same time he transmitted a copy of the paper to Lord Hastings, then in the North-Western Provinces, and was happy to receive a reply in his own hand highly commending the project of endeavouring to excite and to gratify a spirit of inquiry in the native mind by means of a newspaper, and thus was the journal established. A copy of it was sent with a subscription book to all the great Baboos in Calcutta, and the first name entered on the list was that of Dwarka Nath Tagore. On the return of Lord Hastings to the Presidency, he endeavoured to encourage the undertaking by allowing the journal to circulate through the country at one-fourth the usual charge of postage which at that time was extravagantly high.

"A fortnight after the appearance of the *Durpun*, a native started another paper in Calcutta with the title of *Timirunasuk*, 'the destroyer of darkness,' but it did not continue long to shine. At a later period arose the *Sumachar Chandrika*, or the 'moon of intelligence.' It was projected and edited by a Brahmin, Bhabani Churn Banerjee, a man of extraordinary powers of intellect and humour, and of the greatest energy and master of a Bengalee style of surpassing ease and elegance. He was a Brahman of Brahmans, and his journal became the organ of the orthodox Hindoos, of which the late Raja Radha Kant Deb became the great champion, after the death of his father. For more than ten years, the *Durpun* and the *Chandrika* fought the battle of progress on the one side and of Hindoo conservatism on the other. At length came the great event of the abolition of suttees which agitated native society to its profoundest depths. The *Durpun* supported the abolition, the *Chandrika* denounced it in no measured language. In order, at this critical period, to increase the popularity and the influence of the *Durpun*, I gave it in Bengalee and English in parallel columns, and the circulation immediately rose beyond the level of its rival.

Both journals have left a numerous and flourishing progeny which is continually on the increase. I feel confident that this notice of the lineage of the family will not be devoid of interest in this the third generation of editors." This is the account given by J. C. Marshman of the origin of the *Sumachar Dur-pun*, and certainly this is more interesting and authentic than the one given by Carey.

Regarding the early history of the Bengalee literature for which Carey used only an article from the *Bengal Magazine*, we have now so much information on the subject that most of what is reprinted seems to be quite obsolete and inaccurate. The masterly work of Baboo Dinesh Chandra Sen, for which he has been rewarded by the Government of India with a literary pension for life, has thrown everything hitherto known on the subject into useless matter. As such, no one would care to read now what is reprinted. In describing the working of the censorship on the Indian Press, Carey remarks that the press was first brought into use in India by the Portuguese, who established some presses at Goa. On this point the late Dr. Richard Garnett of the British Museum, has a very interesting paper on "*Introduction of European Printing into the East*," being the transactions of the second International Conference. From this paper, we learn that the first book printed by Europeans in any part of Asia was produced at Goa in 1556, two generations, be it noted, after Vasco da Gama reached Calicut by the Cape. This was the *Catechism of Doctrine* of St. Francis Xavier. The printing press, it will be seen, followed missionaries rather than merchants. There was another press worked by Portuguese missionaries in 1577, at Ambalacatta which produced books in Malayam. Colombo, though on the oldest Eastern trade route, had no press till 1737. Bombay got the printing press in 1674, when Mr. Harry Hills was sent out by the Court of Directors at a salary of £50 per annum with a printing press, types and considerable quantity of paper. Macfarlane states that printing was practised at Madras from 1772, and an official printing press was set up at Calcutta under the direction of Mr. Wilkins (or Sir Charles as he afterwards became.) But coming to the description given by Carey of the working of the Censorship, we do not find a satisfactory account. When the

East India Company ceased to exist in 1858, and the Crown succeeded them, a Parliamentary paper was published showing how the press of India worked in their *régime*. In that account a most detailed description was given regarding the working of the Censorship on the Indian press. It seems strange now why this paper was not utilised by Carey for his purpose as it is the most authentic state document on the subject. Even in the reprint, no mention has been made of this Parliamentary Return on the public press in India, which is more valuable and informing than what Carey snapped together from newspaper trifles. Similar is the case with the account given by him of the deportation of James Silk Buckingham, the redoubtable editor of the *Calcutta Journal*. In 1834 a Select Committee of the House of Commons sat to consider the case of his deportation, and in their report, we can now find the whole history of the *Calcutta Journal* from its beginning to end. Carey failed to use it, we know not why. Hence his account is not only inaccurate but even misleading. The publishers should have corrected by footnotes some glaring mistakes in the account after consulting the Parliamentary Return on Buckingham's case. Besides, not a line is to be found in the book about the origin of the *Calcutta Review*, a periodical in which the problems of Indian life and administration received an amount of attention which they had not attracted before, unless in rare books like those of Shore and Sleeman. In May 1844, the late Sir John Kaye, assisted by Alexander Duff, John Clark Marshman, Henry Lawrence, Arthur Broome, B. N. Cust, Hippisley Marsh and others started the paper.

Carey's account of ancient Calcutta is equally unsatisfactory. Dr. C. R. Wilson's "Early Annals of the English in Bengal" and Mr. A. K. Roy's "Short History of Calcutta" (Census Report) have brought to light so many facts on the early history of Calcutta that it seems quite strange why Carey's account has not been supplemented by these authentic records at the time of reprint. Of the dates given by Carey of the movements of the English in Bengal, the majority are incorrect, and as they are most obvious, they should have been corrected by footnotes. The advance of the English from the Coromandel Coast up the Bay of Bengal was primarily due to

the enterprise of local officers. In March 1633, the Company's Agent at Maslipattam, meeting with a growing scarcity of cloth in that place, resolved to open up a trade with the fertile provinces at the mouth of the Ganges. A party of eight Englishmen set sail in a country boat, reached Harishpur at the mouth of the river Patua in Orissa and thence ascended the river some eight miles as far as Kosida. Here they took the high road to Cuttack and repaired thence to the court of Mukunda Dev in Fort Barabati where they were received by the reigning Nawab with great kindness. Aga Muhammed Zaman Tehrani, the Nawab, granted them permission to build factories at Hariharpur and Balasore in the same year 1633. This is the correct account of the initiation of the trade in Bengal by the English. Wilson thus corrects a popular blunder on the origin of English trade in Bengal :—“ According to the legend, the English established factories at Pipli in 1634, at Hughli in 1640, and at Balasore in 1642. The truth is that the English never had any factory at Pipli except in the imagination of the historians. Sir Henry Yule, who has examined all the records extant relating to this period, has not been able to find any evidence whatever of any such thing. Bruton gives us the authentic account of the origin of the English factory at Balasore. It was established there by Ralph Cartwright in 1633 A. D. in response to an invitation from the Governer Mir Qasim (*sic*). Even without Bruton's circumstantial account of the origin of the English factories at Hariharpur and Balasore in 1633, I should have thought that Day's letter would have shown our historians that the Balasore factory was established some years before 1642. Day says :—‘ Do not abandon Balasore after all your trouble and expense.’ This implies that the English had already come there, yet the historians perversely argue that the English came to Balasore in 1642.” This criticism goes directly against Carey as against any other historian who supposed that the initiation of the trade in Bengal was due to a farman supposed to have been granted to the English by Shah Jahan on the 2nd February 1634 allowing them liberty to trade in Bengal, but confining them to Pipli. Wilson says :—“ I have taken no notice of this story for the following reasons. The only evidence produced to prove that

there was such a farman is a letter from the Council of Surat dated the 21st February 1634, in which they state that on the 2nd of that month, they received a farman of this description, but they go on to say, somewhat incredulously, that they had received no English letter or syllable, private or public, directly or indirectly, concerning this or any other business. I may add that from that day to this, no one has ever heard or seen one English letter or syllable, private or public, directly or indirectly, concerning this farman, and that there is no evidence that the English in Bengal ever went to Pipli, or ever heard that they had been permitted to do so. I may also point out that if the farman was granted at Agra on the 2nd of February it could not have arrived at Surat on that same day. The farman, of course, originated in the imagination of the native interpreter, who was employed to translate the despatch from Agra and who did his best to please his masters according to his lights. Such farmans and rumours of farmans were common enough in those days, and we see that they did not put much faith in the story at Surat ; yet it has been solemnly repeated as history ever since."

In page 16 of Vol. I we find again an account of the service which Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the *Hopewell* did to the English in securing trade privileges in Bengal. That the current account is false is proved by Wilson. He says :— “ According to our historians, Boughton was sent for in consequence of a sad accident which had occurred at the Mogul Court. The Princess Jahan Ara was the eldest and best beloved daughter of Shah Jehan. ‘ Returning one night from visiting her father to her own apartments in the harem, she unfortunately brushed with her clothes one of the lamps which stood in the passage. Her clothes caught fire, and as her modesty, being within hearing of men, would not permit her to call for assistance, she rushed into the harem in flames ; and there was no hope of her life.’ It was to attend the poor burnt princess that Boughton was summoned to Agra, say our historians, and it was through his skill that she recovered. Sir Henry Yule has not been able to find any confirmation of this story on record. The accident happened in 1643-4 (not in 1636 as Carey writes) Boughton was sent, it appears, at the

beginning of 1645, in which case he must surely have arrived too late. Besides, the native historian who tells us of the accident, also tells us that a famous physician was brought expressly from Lahore to treat the case." Further on Wilson says—"It is very doubtful, however, whether Boughton ever secured any grant at all for the English. In 1650 when we last hear of him he is still promising and not performing. In 1651-2 Bruce and Stuart tell us that the English in Bengal obtained a *nishan* from Shah Shuja. If it could be shown that they did get a *nishan* in this year, and that Boughton was then living, we might conjecture that his influence had something to do with it. But neither of these conditions can be established. There is nothing to show that Boughton was still living and influencing Shah Shuja in 1651-52 and there are considerable doubts as to whether any *nishan* was granted by the prince in that year, etc."

Thus the current blunder has been thoroughly exploded by Wilson in his monumental work on Bengal. But the publishers in bringing out a reprint of the book containing the current blunder did not think it worth their while to at least doubt the account by a footnote with some reference to Wilson's researches. Then again that time-honoured error which for want of information, all the English historians, Orme, Stuart, James Mill, Macaulay, and others committed, remains in the reprint of Carey's book without correction. It is an obvious error—Omichand. His name most frequently occurs in the history of the first supremacy of the East India Company in Bengal in the years 1756 and 1757. When Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah (not Suraj-ud-dowla as appears in Carey) attacked Calcutta, the short-sighted policy of the English merchants led to great loss of life and property to him. He was one of the leaders in the conspiracy against the Nawab, immediately before the battle of Plassey. And he was the first sacrificial offering when Clive won the victory at Plassey and the British Lion first stalked the Indian soil. Who was this Omichand, to what race did he belong and what was his religion?

Lord Macaulay following his previous historians has given a high place to Omichand by depicting him as the "artful Bengalee." It was certainly no fault of Carey when he merely

echoed that in his book for he was merely a compiler. But now the real information about Omichand's name, religion and birth-place has come to light. The Hon'ble Justice Saroda Charan Mitter has discovered a document from the records of the Calcutta High Court which is a facsimile of the original Will made by Omichand. From this we come to know that his real name was Amir Chand and not Omichand which is only a corruption of the real name ; that he was a Sikh by religion—a Nanakpanthi or a follower of Nanak Guru Govind ; that he was a Panjabi by birth. The Will is written in "Mahajani Nagri" and not in Bengalee. With the exception of a few legacies, he left the whole of his fortune to Shri Govindji Nanak. These real facts have proved the assertions of the historians to be all untrue. Hence in reprinting Carey's book the publishers ought to have stated all these new informations—if not all, at least the indubitable fact that a facsimile of the original Will made by "Omichand" has been preserved in the Record room of the Original side of the Calcutta High Court.

We have not space enough to pursue our critical notice to a greater length. To point out all the unverified statements in the book under review requires as many pages as the book contains. We have shown some of these incorrect statements, and if a favourable opportunity come, we might again take up the book for review. Suffice it to say here in concluding that the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced had the publishers appended to it a copious Index. A book of a thousand pages without an index cannot be useful to the general public ; this fact, if not any other, should have attracted the publishers' attention more prominently. Nobody can say that their work of reprint is not excellently done. If they could allow "obvious errors" to be corrected by footnotes in bringing out an "unpurged" edition, they might with greater justification, have appended a copious index which was an obvious defect of the original edition. The chronological table cannot be useful to the readers in a practical way and hence an index copious and "crossing," is a great need.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Grihahárâ (the Homeless)—By Narendra Nath Bhattachârjiya. [Mozoomdar Library, Calcutta.]

This tiny little book, which demands no more space than one can afford to spare for it in one's waistcoat pocket, is a rendering in Bengalee verse of Tennyson's "Enoch Arden." There are people who cannot stand a translation. But without translation no literature can be enriched and interchange of thoughts and ideas is retarded. Therefore we welcome translations of foreign works as healthy signs of the times. We remember having seen another Bengalee translation of "Enoch Arden" and that by a gifted Bengalee lady. That translation, though more faithful to the original, cannot approach the present work in sweetness of language and softness of melodious verse. Mr. Andrew Lang has somewhere said—Some arts have been lost ; the art of translation has never been discovered. All translators labour after it ; we seek it like hidden treasure ; we never find it. You cannot pour the wine without spilling "from the golden cup to the silver." This is very true. That is exactly why FitzGerald's *Omar* is so surprisingly popular. It is, perhaps, the only translation that equals—if not surpasses—the original *Omar*'s translator being—as some critics call him—himself a greater *Omar*. Considering the difficulties that a translator labours under the present rendering of one of Tennyson's masterpieces is a creditable performance. The translator's style is graceful and his command over language praiseworthy. He has, moreover, cultivated, and that with success, Tennyson's habit of collecting, hoarding, economising and utilising words. But how is it that the author has not told the reader anything about the original? He simply says—the book is an echo. That is not enough.

Pratâpâditya—By Aikhil Nâth Roy (Parishad Series, No. 2). [Gooroo Das Chatterjee, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.]

In this book the author has collected almost all extant works in Bengalee on *Pratâpâditya*, the Hindu King of Bengal, who attempted to establish an independent kingdom in Bengal during the sixteenth century. He has, moreover, furnished

these works with copious critical, historical, and explanatory notes. The originals have grown scarce and difficult to understand because of their quaint language, having been written at a time when Bengalee prose was just beginning to emerge out of the overshadowing influence of poetry. Valuable as these annotated books are the most valuable portion of the work is the exhaustive introduction supplied by the author. It is in itself a separate book of over 200 pages in which the author has given us pictures of Bengal during the sixteenth century and the hero of the book. It is a fascinating narrative in which the crumbling crennated walls of Pratâp's deserted capital seem once more to ring with the clash of arms and the sound of trumpets calling the warriors to the field of battle. But kings and camps do not exhaust the purpose of history and, we are glad to note, the author has collected and arranged much information about the social condition of Bengal during the sixteenth century. The book is worthy of the author of *Murshidâbâdî Itihâs* and *Murshidâbâd Kâhîne*.

Kâlidâs O Bhababhuti (Kalidas' and Bhababhuti)—By Pandit Râjendra Nâth Vidyâbhusan of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. [S. C. Basu and Company, 65, College Street, Calcutta.]

This pamphlet contains the reproduction of an essay read by the Pandit at a meeting of the Sanskrit College Club. The historic or antiquarian portion of the essay does not contain much indication of original research. But the critical portion is pleasant reading, and shows that the author is gifted with a strong critical faculty. He can, moreover, explain things without posing as a pedant, and hide the professor's dignity under the garb of a companion to the student.

Baibhrâjikâ (collections made in the Garden of Eden)—By Sm. Indupravâ. [Sanyal and Company, 25, Roy Bagan Street, Calcutta.]

This is a collection of poems on various subjects by a Bengalee lady. The freshness of the ideas and the utter absence of artificiality about them are a pleasant surprise. The young authoress—for so she is we are informed—has the poetic vein in her. And we expect better and nobler things from her in the near future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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